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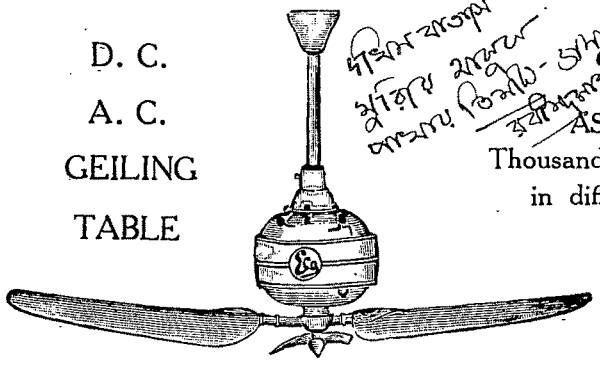

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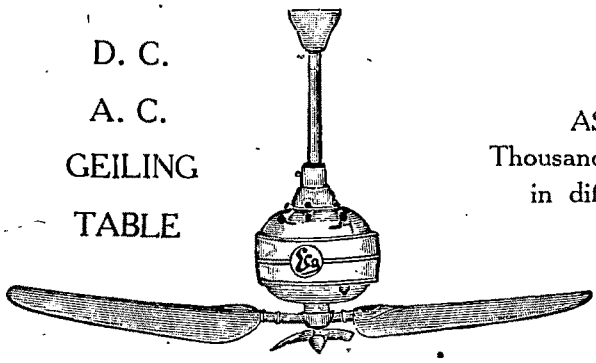

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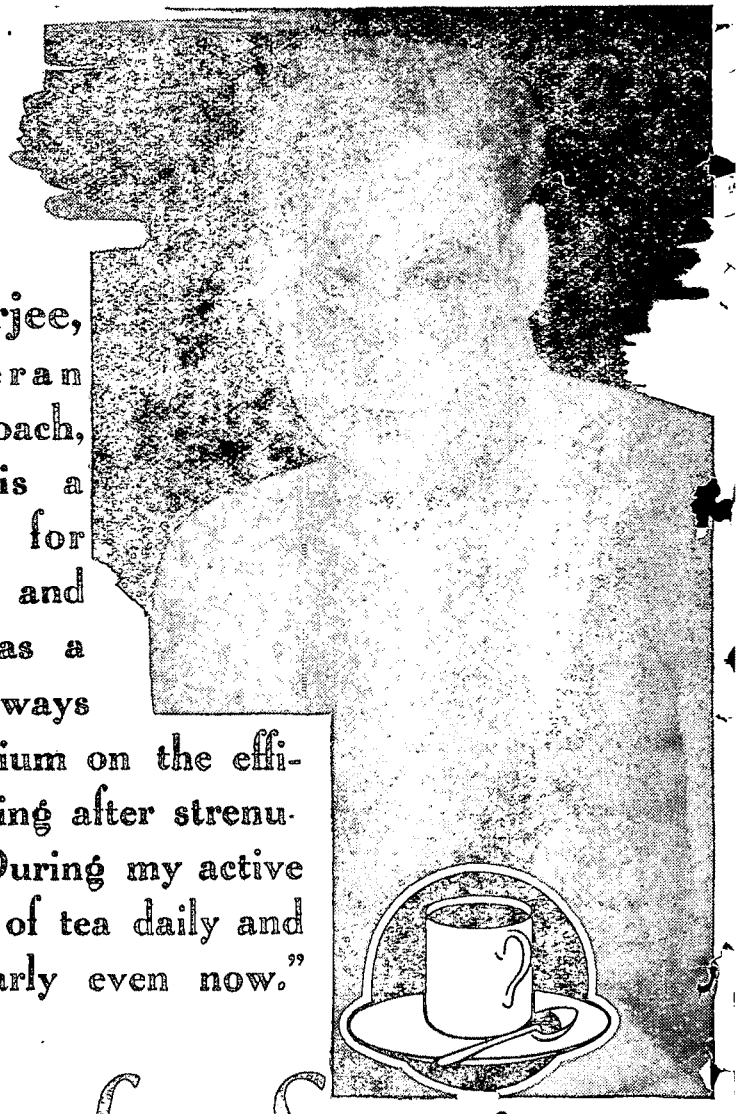

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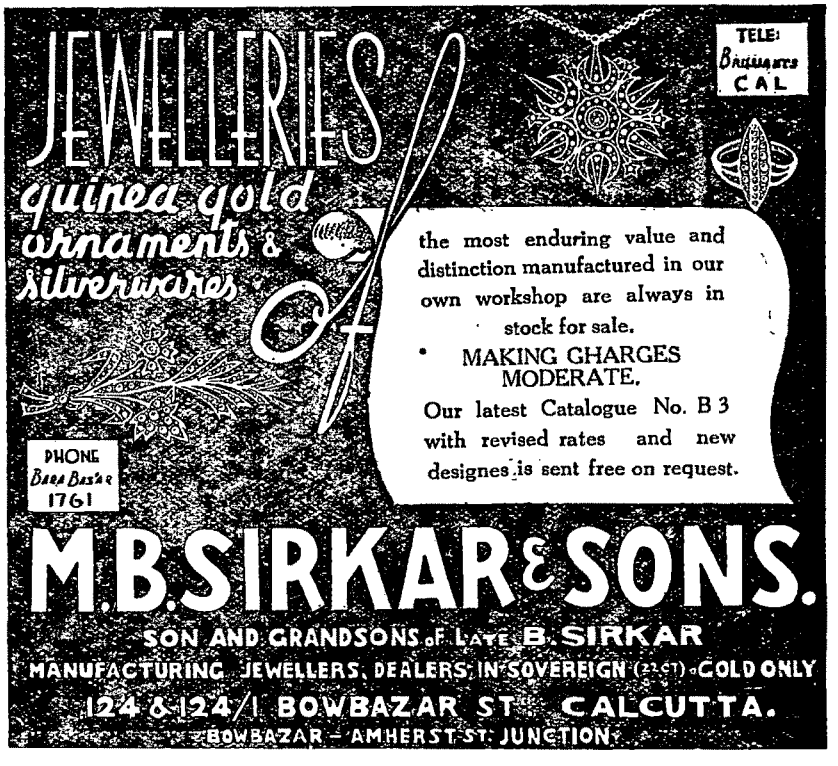
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MAHĀTMĀ

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

THE term " Mahātmā " has been much abused but has precise and intelligible meanings and a long history. Like so many other of the technical terms of Indian metaphysics, the word is difficult to explain and seems to have a vague or sentimental connotation mainly because of our general ignorance of Christian and all other traditional philosophies, so that, for example, we are no longer able to distinguish spirit from soul or essence from existence ; and because of the absolute values we mistakenly attach to " personality," or rather, individuality.

At a point already far from the beginning we find in a Buddhist Sutta the distinction drawn between the Greater and the Lesser " selves " of a man, respectively *mahātmā* and *alpātmā*,[1] these " selves " corresponding to St. Bernard's *esse* and *proprium*, " being " and " property," *i.e.*, the psycho-physical qualities by which one individual is distinguished from another. These two " selves " are, again, the " lives " of John XII. 25, " He that would save his life, let him lose it," and one of them is that " life " that a man " must

[1] The e terms are given in their Sanskrit, rather than in their Pali forms, to avoid confusion. The distinction is the same as that of the " fair " (*kalyāna*) from the " foul " (*pāpa*) self, as drawn in A. I. 149.

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hate if he would be my disciple " (Luke XIV. 26) ; in these texts the words which have been rendered by " life," here and in Luke IX. 24, " Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake," are Latin *anima* and Greek *psyche*, implying (1) self as a psychological entity, all in fact that is implied by *psyche* in our " psychology " and (2) the spiritual " self."

In Mahātmā, *maha* is simply " great," " higher," or "superior:" *ātman*, like Greek *pneuma*, is primarily " spirit." But because the spirit is the real being of the man, as distinguished from the accidents of this being by which the individual is known as So-and-so and is possessed of particular qualities or properties, *ātman* in reflexive usage acquires the value of " self," whatever may be our opinion as to the nature of this " self," whether physical, psychic, or spiritual. In this sense it can be used to denote either of the " lives " referred to in the texts cited above. But it is precisely at this point that the fundamental importance of the traditional and often repeated injunction " Know thyself " emerges: for the " reasoning and mortal man " " has forgotton who he is " (Boethius), and to those who have thus forgotten are applied the words of the Song of Songs, " if thou knowest not thyself, depart." The word of God, as St. Paul so trenchantly expresses it, is " sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit " (Heb. IV. 12) ; as it must, if the way of return to God is to be stated ; for if it be true that " whoever is joined unto the Lord, is one spirit " (1 Cor. VI. 27), this can only be by " an elimination of all otherness " (Nicolas of Cusa). Therefore, as Eckhart says, " All scripture cries aloud for freedom from self," and here the word " all " must be taken in its widest possible sense, for this is the burden as much of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Islamic scripture as it is of Christian. It must be observed, however, that this is much rather a metaphysical than an ethical doctrine, and that " freedom from self " means very much more than is conveyed by our word " unselfishness ": " selfless conduct " will be merely symptomatic of the man whose self has been " naughted " and whose works are " those of the Holy Ghost (*spiritus*, *pneuma*, *ruaḥ*, *ātman*) rather than his own " (St. Thomas Aquinas, based on 2 Cor. III. 17 and Gal. V. 18). The altruist does as " he " would be done by: the acts of one who is altogether " in the spirit " are unmotivated, whether for good or evil, they are simply manifestations of the Truth apart from which " he " no longer

exists ; it is only conventionally and logically, and for practical convenience, and not really, that he can speak of himself as " I " or of anything as " mine " ; in reality " I live, yet not ' I,' but Christ liveth in me " (Gal. II. 20), " I wander in the world and am not anyone " (*akimcano carāmi loke*, Buddhist).

The term Mahātmā is primarily a designation of the " Great Unborn Spirit " (*mahān aja ātmā*, BU. IV. 4. 22 ; *ātmā mahān*, KU. III. 10), the Supernal Son (MU. VII. 11. 8), the spiritual-essence (*ātman*) of all that is (RV. I. 115. 1) at once the Giver of Life and Death the Ender (*mahātmā* in KU. I. 16) : a designation, that is to say, of the spirant God as distinguished from the despirated Godhead, which distinction is superseded only in the Supreme Identity of the Person (*puruṣa*), That One (*tad ekam*). The Spirit as described in Indian scripture is thus the Light of lights, and the only free agent in all things ; for in this " eternal philosophy " it is not " we " who see, hear, act and so forth, but the immanent Spirit that sees, hears and acts in us.

If now the fundamental question is asked in the Upanisads and Buddhism, " By which self " is freedom attainable, the answer is evidently " by the spiritual self," and not by the individual, psychophysical ego. The possibility of a salvation from pain, fear and death and all that we mean by " evil " is the possibility of transposing our conscious of being (valid in itself but not to be confused with our concept of being So-and-so) from the human ego to the immanent Spirit which lends itself to very individuality impartially without ever itself becoming anyone ; the possibility, that is to say, of transferring our consciousness of being from the lesser to the greater self ; the possibility, of becoming a " Mahātmā," or as St. Paul would express it, of " being in the spirit." To call a man Mahātmā is then as much as to say " Great Spirit," " Sun," " Great Light "; it is more than to call him a saint, it is to call him a Son of God and a shaft of the Uncreated Light. It implies, indeed, that the man so called is no longer in the common sense " himself," no longer " all-too-human," but being " joined to God, is one spirit " (1 Cor. VI. 17).

This is not a claim that any man would make for himself ; he cannot make it as a man, nor is it one that could be proven. If a man has really here and now " become what he is " (*geworden was er ist*), a blast of the Spirit (for " That *art* thou "), " free in this life " (*jīvan-mukta*), or as Rūmī expresses it, " a dead man walking, one

whose spirit hath a dwelling place on high at this moment," all this is strictly speaking a secret between himself and God. The reader may not believe that the state of perfection " even as your Father in heaven is perfect " implied by the epithet Mahātmā can be realised, or may not believe that it has been realised in the man of whom we can still speak as Mohandas Gandhi. My only object has been to explain the real meaning of the term Mahātmā which has been applied to Gandhi by those who regard him as a Messiah, and which has become inseparably connected with his name.

I conclude with the definition of the Māhātmā given in the Buddhist Sutta (A. I. 249) cited at the beginning of the second paragraph of this article. The Mahātmā " is of full-grown body, will and foreknowledge ; he is not emptied out, but a Great Spirit whose behaviour is incalculable."

INSPECTION AND AUDIT OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN BENGAL

J. P. NIYOGI
Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University

PROMINENT co-operators in India have recently drawn attention to the fundamental fact that conditions of administration play an important part in the development of a strong and efficient co-operative organisation. Unfortunately, the administrative aspect did not receive the attention it deserved in the formative period of the movement. It was, however, suddenly brought into prominence in 1929 and the following years when low commodity prices and steadily mounting overdues brought about a disorganisation of the machinery of co-operative credit. Well-wishers of the movement all over India realised, as never before, the necessity of effecting an improvement in the existing administrative organisation. In our own province the subordinate agency was strengthened for dealing with collection of arrears, and schemes were set on foot for imparting instruction to the staff in co-operative law and practice.

The superior staff of the Co-operative Department consists of a Registrar assisted by several Assistant Regiatrars. The audit work is conducted by the Chief Auditor with the help of five Divisional Auditors. It will appear from the table below that credit societies and central banks are not evenly distributed throughout the five divisions.

TABLE I

Divisional Distribution of Co-operative Credit Societies

Divisions	Central Banks	Primary Societies	
		Agricultural	Non-agricultural
Presidency	21	3,659	189
Burdwan	21	3,727	78
Dacca	31	5,709	106
Chittagong	16	2,857	86
Rajshahi	29	3,817	74

In the circumstances the partition of the Province into Co-operative Divisions coterminous in area with administrative Divisions would have given rise to serious practical difficulties. It was, therefore, necessary to split up some of the larger administrative Divisions and appoint additional Assistant Registrars to enable these officers to exercise effective control. But it is worth recalling that about 25% of the credit societies in Bengal belong to the "D" and "E" classes and are hopelessly inefficient from the co-operative standpoint. If these "D" and "E" class societies are liquidated, it might be possible to reduce the superior staff without any loss of efficiency.

Inspection and Supervision

Inspectors, auditors and supervisors constitute the subordinate staff. It is a mattter of common knowledge that supervisors employed by Central Banks are expected to perform a multiplicity of duties, and that it has not hitherto been possible for them to do all the work allotted to them. What is true of supervisors is also largely true of the inspecting and audit staff. The following table will show the number of Inspectors, Auditors and Supervisors employed during 1925-36.

Table II

Strength of the Subordinate Staff, 1925-36

Year	No. of Societies Agricultural & Non-agricultural *	Inspectors	Auditors	Supervisors
1925-26	12,704	75	95	303
1926-27	15,319	74	98	366
1927-28	17,978	75	98	448
1928-29	19,742	81	124	511
1929-30	22,390	80	184	585
1930-31	23,533	80	223	600
1931-32	23,634	82	223	593
1932-33	23,526	82	241	609
1933-34	23,334	84	241	628
1934-35	23,304	84	241	666
1935-36	23,390	84	241	669

* Figures exclude Central Banks, Producers' Unions and Supervising Unions.

The main duties of Inspectors are propaganda, supervision and super-audit. They are expected to assist in the reconstruction of bad societies and in the disposal of "disputes" referred to them by the Registrar. [1] Enquiries under section 35 of the Co-operative Societies Act into the constitution, working and financial condition of credit societies are also conducted by Inspectors. In addition to these duties Inspectors have been called upon to carry out the statutory audit of co-operative societies [2] ever since the onset of the depression. They were further required to assist Central Banks in collecting overdues, as it was felt that any relaxation of efforts in this direction would bring serious loss to many of the Central Banks. It is thus evident that too much of the time and energy of the Inspectors are wasted in doing work that should properly devolve on auditors and supervisors. The table given above will show that while the number of societies increased from 12,704 to 23,390 during 1925-36, the inspecting staff remained stationary for all practical purposes. It is hardly possible to expect an efficient system of control and supervision in these circumstances.

The truth is that the distribution of functions between Inspectors, auditors and supervisors lacks definiteness and precision and has proceeded along haphazard lines. Work that should properly be done by auditors has sometimes been assigned to Inspectors. In the difficult years that followed the slump Inspectors had to take part in collection work. Propaganda, education of the people in co-operative principles and general direction—work that should form the principal duties of the Inspectors—are expected to be performed by supervisors. The following passage taken from the Annual Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in Bengal, 1927-28, will illustrate the state of confusion that exists :

"Under the existing conditions the Inspectors have little time to devote to the education of members of rural societies. The task of educating the individual member in the fundamental principles of co-operation and of inculcating in him the ideas of better farming, better business and better living must, therefore, be entrusted to the staff of supervisors who are in constant and immediate touch

[1] Rule 22, under Section 43, Co-operative Societies Act, 1912.
[2] Annual Report on the working of Co-operative Societies, Bengal, 1927-28.

with the village societies." All this vicious mixture of functions should cease and work assigned to Inspectors, auditors and supervisors according to a well planned scheme of reorganisation. It is true that functions like supervision, inspection and audit are closely allied and do not permit of a clear cut division, particularly in a rudimentary organisation like a primary credit society. But at the same time one cannot resist the conclusion that the distribution of functions in this province has been the haphazard result of desperate attempts to meet the exigencies of transitory emergency.

Audit

In 1935-36 there were 241 auditors employed by the Co-operative Department. The expenditure incurred by the Government on the audit staff is met by an audit fee on working capital levied on all co-operative societies. The scale of fees levied is as follows:—

(*a*) Ten annas per Rs. 100 of working capital subject to the maximum of Rs. 140 in the case of a society other than a Central Society.

(*b*) Five annas per Rs. 100 of working capital subject to a maximum of Rs. 350 in the case of a Central Society.

Anti-Malarial Societies and Societies less than 18 months old are exempted from the payment of such fees. The expenditure incurred by the Government on account of their audit is met out of provincial revenues. Nor is the fee collected chargeable with other expenses incurred by the Government on account of audit, such as those for Inspectors and other supervising officers of the Co-operative Department who perform duties in connection with audit.

The Central Banks are expected to advance the audit fees assessed on primary societies and then realise the amount due from each society. The amount realised has usually been in excess of that actually spent by the Government for the maintenance of the audit staff. This will appear from the following table showing the fees collected and the amounts actually spent by the Government of Bengal during 1925-36.

TABLE III

Audit Fees, 1925-36

Year	Fees collected	Expenditure on audit staff *
1925-26	Rs. 1,60,682	1,00,528
1926-27	,, 1,83,803	1,25,612
1927-28	,, 2,21,542	1,25,293
1928-29	,, 2,43,697	1,43,169
1929-30	,, 3,10,671	1,51,030
1930-31	,, 3,47,030	2,19,593
1931-32	,, 3,36,925	2,62,929
1932-33	,, 3,73,726	2,92,191
1933-34	,, 3,86,218	3,37,850
1934-35	,, 3,51,167	3,65,467 **
1935-36	,, 4,20,580	4,03,034

There are three possible methods of financing the audit expenses of agricultural credit societies. Audit may be undertaken by Government free of charge or it may be financed by means of fees levied on the societies. Until recently in the Bombay Presidency the audit of all agricultural societies and of smaller non-agricultural societies was conducted by Government free of cost. The system was, however, abandoned in 1931 [1] when it was decided to levy an audit fee on societies in proportion to working capital. In the province of Bihar and Orissa a different system prevailed under which audit expenses were shared between the societies and the Government. In 1916 the Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Federation was started and the control of audit was nominally entrusted to this body. Under the by-laws, however, the power of audit was actually vested in the Registrar, as *ex-officio* Governor of the Federation. To ensure a more democratic control a new decentralised constitution was drafted in 1933-34

* Some of these figures include expenditure which is properly chargeable to provincial revenues.

** Difficulties of collection are responsible for the excess of expenditure over receipts.

[1] 10th Conference of Registrars of Co-operative Societies, 1926, pp. 32-37. See also article in the *Indian Co-operative Review*, January-March, 1937, page 55.

under which it was proposed to set up new Divisional Boards.[1] While the Co-operative Federation would remain responsible for policy, training and audit, the Divisional Boards were charged with definite functions in regard to organisation, control and propaganda. In 1933-34 the expenditure on audit was Rs. 2,00,800. Out of this a sum of about Rs. 1,61,000 was met out of fees levied on societies, while the balance was met out of Government subsidy.

The Bihar and Orissa plan for audit tried to reconcile two conflicting aims and ideals. To assure the investing public that audit was properly conducted under Government auspices the Registrar was appointed *ex-officio* Governor, a designation subsequently changed to President. To introduce at the same time a semblance of democratic control the paraphernalia of a Federation was set up. It was this attempt to reconcile these two different objects that vitiated the whole scheme. The success of the co-operative movement depends upon competent and fearless audit, and no system can be regarded as perfect which tries to combine with this object an altogether different and to some extent an incompatible one. The Central Banks were adequately represented on the Federation, and it was hardly expected that their delegates would "resist the temptation of finding fault with their fault-finders," the auditors. Such criticism must necessarily impair the quality of audit.

The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee had recommended that the work of audit should be entrusted to District Audit Unions composed of representatives of Central Banks and Primary Societies. It is now universally admitted that the plan is unworkable. Democratic control of audit is not likely to be a success in this land, however efficient it may have proved in Europe. The choice, therefore, lies between full-fledged Government audit financed by Government, and audit of the kind prevailing in Bengal financed out of fees given to the Government by Co-operative Societies.

That Government audit will inspire greater public confidence is undeniable. The health of the movement depends upon enlisting the support of auditors who will do their work efficiently without fear or favour. Alike in the interest of purity and of dependence it is desirable that audit should be financed entirely by the Government. Opinion was expressed at the 10th Conference of Registrars of Co-

[1] Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar and Orissa, 1934.

operative Societies held in 1928 that if Government contributed largely towards the cost of audit or even gave it free, Government could exercise far greater control and could insist on such audit being satisfactory. The Conference passed the following resolution :—

" This Conference agrees that education and supervision is of the highest importance and is of opinion that Government, should, where necessary, make substantial contribution towards the cost of education and supervision,.....At the same time it sees no reason why, where audit is given free or where subsidies are given for audit, these should cease to be paid. In provinces where no contribution is now made the Conference sees no objection in principle to the Government making any contribution required to make it efficient."

A distinction may be drawn in this connection between audit and supervision. Audit is a statutory duty cast on the Government, while supervision is not. It is, therefore, reasonable to expect that societies should pay for their own supervision which they actually do. For supervisors are now paid by Central Banks which reimburse themselves out of the margin between their borrowing and lending rates. But there does not seem to exist any justification for making societies pay for their audit as well. There is still less justification for the system in vogue in Bengal under which the fees realised from societies are not utilised for the purpose for which such fees are charged.

The argument is advanced that if audit is done by Government at public expense, it will make the co-operative movement official ridden. This argument is the least convincing of the many that have been advanced in this connection for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Bengal. The co-operative movement owes its origin to Government initiative. It has been nurtured for years by Government and is still dependent on Government support for a variety of privileges. But for the fostering care of Government it would have collapsed long ago. To argue that payment of auditors' salaries by Government will at once convert a vigorous movement, deriving its support from the zeal and enthusiasm of the people, into an official ridden movement propped up by Government is to be oblivious of facts which are patent to every body. It has also been contended that the cost of auditing healthy societies should not be charged on general tax-payers. But it is well worth remembering that the general tax-payers are vitally interested in the movement, as it is they who will have to come to the rescue of

Co-operatve Banks in emergencies. The tax-payers have thus a right to be assured that financial irregularities are minimised, as far as possible, as a result of audit undertaken by an independent and impartial body of men.[1]

On more than one occasion the societies and Central Banks have withheld payment of audit fees in this Province as a protest against the failure of the Department to maintain an adequate and efficient audit staff. The Central Banks, already hard hit by the depression, have experienced great difficulties in recent years in advancing fees charges on behalf of their affiliated societies.[2] The manner in which audit fees are assessed on the working capital of societies is also a perennial source of irritation to the credit societies. Assets which have no existence in fact, which have become irrecoverable owing to bad and injudicious investments, but which appear in the Profit and Loss Account are chargeable with audit fees. Representatives of credit societies resent when they are called upon to pay fees on working capital which has only an imaginary existence. The present system should, therefore, be done away with and audit undertaken by Government free of cost. At the same time audit officers should be relieved of the administrative work that they are now called upon to do. A separation is needed between ordinary administrative and audit work in the interest of efficient audit. It is also difficult to reconcile oneself to the position under which the audit staff remains under the administrative control of a Department the accounts of which the auditors are called upon to scrutinise. Financial propriety requires that the staff should be removed from the control of the Co-operative Department. Audit of co-operative societies should be placed on the same footing as that of local bodies, such as Municipalities and District Boards.

[1] When the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank sustained losses in connection with the jute sale societies, the tax-payers of the Province had to make good the loss.

[2] Some of the important Central Banks have to advance between seven and eight thousand rupees on behalf of their affiliated societies.

PIRANDELLO'S DRAMAS AND STORIES*

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IF an Italian meets a non-Italian having some knowledge of modern Italian literature, and asks him as to whom the latter considers to be the most representative of contemporary Italian authors, most probably two names will be given: D'Annunzio and Pirandello. In Italy this choice would perhaps be not wholly approved of, because both D'Annunzio and Pirandello belonged to an older generation, and thus really could not be taken any more to represent the living and working currents of our modern literature. Anyhow, Pirandello *was*, and nobody in Italy tries to deny it, one of the most original, nay, genial, writers of the immediate pre-War and post-War times; and his passing away two years ago was deeply and sincerely regretted both in Italy and abroad.

Luigi Pirandello was born in 1867 at Agrigento (then called Girgenti), a small provincial town in Central Sicily; his father was a rich proprietor of sulphur mines. As many many young men do, he very soon began to lisp in numbers, and his first work, begun at sixteen and published at twenty-two, was a volume of poems, entitled *Mal Giocondo* ("Joyous Illness"). I may add incidentally that up to 1912 it was followed by several other volumes of verses, all of which offer but a very scanty interest. Pirandello's efforts as a lyric poet were a complete failure; and lyric fancy always remained strange to his keen, cold, analytical mind. At eighteen he went to the University of Rome, where he showed himself as a very quarrelsome student, very often at odds with his professors. After a couple of years, he managed to be sent to the University of Bonn in Germany, where he took his doctor's degree presenting a learned thesis on the phonology of the dialect of his native town Agrigento; it is a scholarly study of high scientific standard.

Returning from Germany, he went to live in Rome and later on he married Antoniette Portulano—a marriage of convenience, in compliance with his father's wishes. Two years afterwards a financial disaster fell over the family on account of floods having ruined the

* Lecture at *Bangiya Dante Sabha* (Bengali Dante Society), Calcutta, on January 5, 1939.

sulphur mines; all his patrimony was gone, and he had to become a teacher at a female high school in Rome. But this was only the least of the crosses he had to bear. Worry and anxiety affected the mind of his wife and drove her into insane hysteria in form of violent, unreasoning jealousy. From 1904 to her death in 1918 Pirandello endured a life of increasing torment, but he steadily refused to put her into an asylum. It was this hell of life that caused him to withdraw into his own thoughts and seek relief in his own imagination.

His first short story was *L'esclusa* ("The Outcast"), a characteristically Sicilian piece in Verga's style, which was published in 1901. After that Pirandello was unceasing in his production of short stories, of which more than two hundred have appeared. They were first published in scattered volumes appearing at irregular intervals from 1902 to 1919, the earlier of which are now very difficult to obtain. In 1921 Bemporad & Co. of Florence began to issue a complete collection of the short stories. It included all that had been published previous to that year, carefully revised by the author, and was to be continued so as to contain all the new issues. Its title is *Novelle per un anno* ("A Story for Every Day in the Year"), because it was intended to contain 365 stories in 24 volumes. The publication was later on taken over by Mondadori and Co., Milano. The author's death prevented the original project from being carried out, and Pirandello's stories are only a little more than two hundred, in 15 volumes. A handier edition in two thick volumes of about 1,300 pages each was issued by the same publisher a few months ago.

Besides the short stories, there are also seven novels of greater size. They are: (1) "The Outcast," which I have already mentioned. (2) *Il turno* ("His Turn"), of 1902. (3) *Il fu Mattia Pascal* ("The late Mattia Pascal"), of 1904. (4) *Suo marito* ("Her Husband"), of 1911. (5) *I vecchi e i giovani* ("The Old and the Young"), of 1913, a long novel in two volumes that narrates the history of the Sicilian people since the time of the Garibaldian expedition of 1860. (6) *Si gira* of 1916, the life of a cinema operator at Rome. (7) *Uno, nessuno e centomila* ("One, no one, and a hundred thousand"), begun in 1916 but not published until 1926. The seven novels were re-issued together by Mondadori & Co. some years ago.

Pirandello started late in his life as a dramatist. His first works were one-act sketches, not a few of them in Sicilian dialect, written at

the request of the great Sicilian actor, Angelo Musco, who died three years ago. The first of these sketches appeared in 1912 and was followed by many others in rapid succession. The play that completely revealed his talent and brought for the first time on the stage his philosophical thought as outlined in the stories, was *Pensaci Giacomino!* (" Think of it, Giacomino ! "), of 1916. Pirandello's best plays appeared during the following seven or eight years : *Così e se vi pare* (" So is it, if you like it so ") of 1916, *Ma non e una cosa seria* (" But it is not a serious thing ") of 1918, *L'uomo, la bestia, la virtu* (" The Man, the Beast, and the Virtue ") of 1919, *Sei personaggi in cerca d'autore* (Six Characters in Search of an Author ") of 1921, and *Enrico IV* (" Henry IV ") of 1922. Later plays did not reach the excellence of the above-named ones.

All his theatrical works are collected in a big series, *Maschere nude* (" Naked Masks "), started by Bemporad in 1920 and then carried on by Mondadori. Thirty volumes appeared until the author's death.

Besides the poems, which are nearly worthless, and some critical papers, the whole of Pirandello's work is thus to be found in the two great series, " *A Story for Every Day in the Year* " and " *Naked Masks,* " and in the new edition of the seven novels.

Pirandello became a Fellow of the Royal Accademy of Italy at the time of its foundation in 1928, and was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. He died at Rome in April, 1936.

In few authors has the influence of their native country and its literary traditions been so deep and lasting as in Pirandello. He was born in Sicily, and was a true Sicilian, as a man and as an author. The same dialectical cleverness of reasoning and the same fondness about metaphysical problems that can be found in so many Sicilians, was Pirandello's too. He felt himself almost no less Sicilian than Italian, and was very proud of his narrower native country; he wrote many plays and stories in the dialect of his native town Agrigento. Because of this, sometimes he even seemed to most people to be a regionalist. In fact, not only his birth, feeling and character, but also his literary training was Sicilian. He was one of the last (and best) offshoots of that naturalist school of Sicilian authors, to whom we Italians must always feel indebted because of its decisive contributions towards the renewal of our prose literature.

The romantic tradition exhausted itself about the seventies and eighties of the last century with the last weary and flat followers of Manzoni. Carducci's neo-classic reform scored at first some great successes owing chiefly to the overwhelming personality of its leader. But although apparently opposed to, and bitterly fighting with romanticism, neo-classicism had much too internal affinity with the latter, and too scanty vitality of its own for being able to outlive its founder. It was not classicism that at last substituted itself for romanticism, but the new school from Sicily.

Sicily in the XIIIth century had been the cradle of Italian literature: our first poets were Sicilians—Ciullo d' Alcamo, Jacopo da Lentini, etc. The island remained apart and nearly secluded from the great literary upheaval of subsequent centuries. Being practically absent from the literary life of the nation, it surprised all people with its triumphal return. For some years the new naturalist Sicilian school maintained absolute paramountcy in Italy, thanks chiefly to a deep and acute literary critic, Luigi Capuana, and to one of our greatest novel writers, Giovanni Verga. Verga's novels were for Italy the revelation of a new world and of a new art; his humble, simple, almost neglected and yet powerful prose, had a capacity of expression hitherto unknown. Those stout, massive, earth-bound figures of Sicilian peasants became, and will always remain, some of the most living creations of our literature. The naturalist (or, as we Italians say, *verist*) movement swept away the last traces of romanticism, deprived the neo-classic school of every possibility of further development, and for a few years carried along with itself most of the young and promising talents of that time. It should not be forgotten that even D'Annunzio, then very young and almost unknown to the public, started his dazzling career with a work of purely Vergan inspirations: the *Novelle della Pescara* ("Stories of the Pescara River"). But his naturalism was only a superficial one; it did not respond at all to his inmost feelings, and accordingly faded away rapidly. And yet a last, very faint echo of it may be heard in his masterpiece, *La figlia di Iorio*, in spite of all his idealization of nature and decadent symbolism.

Pirandello went through a similar development. He too started from the *verist* school of Verga, and he too step by step worked his way towards more complex and more personal forms of thought and of expression. But this development was much slower in Pirandello,

and never became complete. His being a Sicilian held him irresistibly bound to a form of art so distinctly characteristic of his country. Moreover, naturalism, in so far as it implies a search for the truth freed from all conventions and hypocrisies, was much nearer to his quiet, analytic spirit, than to the synthetical, romantic, somewhat theatrical nature of D'Annunzio. Pirandello's Sicilian stories never wholly departed from the path of Vergan naturalism. But, although the formal style with its accurate descriptions of the surroundings always kept close to its great pattern, the spirit was altogether different. Already from a purely formal point of view we can notice that Pirandello's Sicilians are not Verga's Sicilians. The hero of Verga's novels is nearly always a peasant, issued from and bound to the earth, almost one thing with it. Pirandello's characters are generally taken from the little bourgeoisie of the towns, not so truly Sicilian as Verga's peasants are ; they completely lack Verga's primitivity and elementarity. Verga's characters are instinctive, simple and powerful ; Pirandello's are cerebral, self-conscious, sometimes sophistical, always complicated.

This does not mean that Pirandello never succeeded in creating true and powerful earth-bound characters. There is one of his shortest stories, not among his best-known ones, which is a masterpiece of its kind, worthy of comparison with Verga's best ones. Its title is *Alla zappa !* ("Go to the Hoe ! "), and the story is in short the following: In Sicily the farmers always hope to be able to dedicate one of their sons to the career of the Church. Although old Siròli needed many hands for his land, he had wished to give one of his sons as a present to God. It was the dream of many peasants to have a son as a priest; and he had managed to fulfil his dream, not for ambition, but just to win merit by such an action in the eyes of God. By dint of scraping together savings and enduring privations of every kind he has been able to keep his son for many years at the seminary of the neighbouring city. His best reward has been to hear the first mass held by his son. But then, the young priest makes himself guilty of an hideous crime against orphans entrusted to his care. The matter can be hushed up and the Bishop arrange to send the culprit away to another district, where, unknown, he may expiate his sin. But the father will have none of this: "Monsignore may pardon, but I will not," he cries, and then rushes to his guilty son and orders him to take off his priest's habit. Then when he has done

so, he orders him to take up a hoe and go back to the land, though he is unworthy even of that labour. " Your brothers' hoe," he says, " and you may not stand near them. Even your toiling will become accursed in God's eyes." And the story finishes with the following exquisite touch of humanity: " Siròli was all alone. He took the tunic, brushed it and folded it carefully, and kissed it; he picked up off the ground the silver brooch and kissed it; he picked up the cap from the ground and kissed it. Then he went and opened a long old chest of pine which looked like a coffin, where he religiously kept the clothes of the two sons who had died, and making the sign of the cross over them he added those of his son the priest—he too was dead."

Old Siròli's massive, Biblical character may recall some of the greatest creations of Knut Hamsun. This is one of Pirandello's best works. But we must not conceal to ourselves that it is perhaps the least Pirandellian of them; it is just a very happy imitation of Verga's manner.

With the passing of time, Pirandello step by step built up and developed his own view of life, and expressed it in that long series of plays and stories that procured him so much renown and so much discussions. It is somewhat difficult to express clearly and in a few words Pirandello's thought. The chief problem for him, as for most of modern philosophers, is the problem of reality, or more precisely the problem of the difference and limits between reality and non-reality. Pirandello is a story' and play-writer, not a philosopher, and it was not his task to give us an organic system of metaphysics. Moreover his view of the problem is perhaps more intuitive than rational, inspite of all his display of logical, dialectical, and even sophistical arguments. But some definite statements we can glean from his works; and perhaps the most comprehensive definition of his philosophy is found in his play, *Cosi e se vi pare* (" So is it, if you like it so "), as expressed by the following words: " What is truth ? Truth does not exist ; truth we have in ourselves ; truth is the representation that each makes of it." And in the preface to the play, *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, he explains and enlarges this pronouncement. Not only are there as many truths as individuals, but there are also as many personalities of a man as his states of mind, and even as the points of view from which he is considered. And reality? Absolute reality does not exist, reality is the continuous and

vain struggle between our need of fixing some fundamental and general features of our being and of our world, and the unbroken, continuous urging-forwards of life, which is changing these features at any moment.

The play which most efficiently brings on the stage the theories of the author about reality and personality is *Six Characters in Search of an Author.* It is the most hallucinating, most Pirandellian of Pirandello's plays. The Six Characters (the Father, the Daughter and the Mother are the outstanding among them) are made to arrive at the theatre while a rehearsal is in progress. The stage is bare except for the prompter's box, a small table for the manager and various chairs scattered about. The company is rehearsing one of Pirandello's plays, when the Six Characters advance up the stage towards the manager. They are characters that an author has sketched out temporarily for a play that he has been writing, but has been unable to finish. Feeling that their nature has been only half realized, they have come to propose to the manager that they should be allowed to act the drama which seethes within them, attaining thus their aim to realize themselves completely. And to prove their words, they start off spontaneously acting the play and gradually fitting into their plan in the dramatic scheme. The actors and actresses, at first laughing and joking at them, gradually become interested in the scene and the manager tries to enclose the Six Characters within the rules of the stage that are fixed by long tradition. But the play fails to emerge, because the Characters, with their raw vital impulses, will not co-ordinate and accept the dictates of the manager. The tragedy of the Characters comes from their rigidity, each one of them recalling virtually only one point (for him, the acme) of the drama he has to live. Each of them is fixed in only one of the disastrous realities of his life, and thus there is no chance of their working together on the scene.

Pirandello very often insists on the capacity of Characters to live, once come into being, their own lives, without any more connection with the author who created them. But it is very difficult to represent on the stage this independent living of such abstractions as the Characters are, because their tendency is toward becoming men of flesh and blood, inspite of the efforts of the author to keep them in the atmosphere of non-reality. It even seems to me that this everlasting uncertainty of the author, characters and readers about the

limits and true significance of the real and non-real, virtually (if not expressly) leads to a surpassing of the whole question and to a merging of this duality into a superior unity. Reality and non-reality are two names for the same thing, nay, they are mere words without anything in themselves. Thus Descartes's statement *Cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I exist), and Hamlet's great question " To be or not to be " lose their substance and have no meaning at all for Pirandello. And this recalls to the mind the somewhat similar position taken by some schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism, chiefly by the Mādhyamikas. Nāgārjuna's strong affirmation of the *śunyatā*, the non-substantiality of all things, and thus also of the difference between being and non-being, although starting from quite other principles and leading to different consequences, shows a strange kinship with Pirandello's philosophy. Of course the analogy lies only in this one point, and there is nothing else in common. I fear, I have dared to express myself far too definitely; but notwithstanding that, I think that this example of parallelism between Pirandello's metaphysics and certain forms of Indian thought is very interesting.

The theory of the multiplicity of personalities has been a most dear one to Pirandello. He developed it fully for the first time, without yet carrying it to its extreme consequences, in his novel *Il fu Mattia Pascal* (" The late Mattia Pascal "), which was published in 1904 and brought Pirandello suddenly from obscurity to dazzling renown, both in Italy and abroad. As is well known, Tolstoi derived his first inspiration for his drama, *The Living Corpse*, from Pirandello's novel, although the ground idea is somewhat different. It is the story of a man who is forced to eke out a wretched existence as a village librarian; besides, he has married a wife who with her mother makes life a hell for him. Eventually he cannot endure it and goes away from them. They all think that he has committed suicide, and their suspicions are confirmed when a putrefied corpse is recovered from the mill race. Mattia is in Monte Carlo and has won a big sum of money at the roulette. He is startled to read his own obituary notice in the papers, and, instead of returning to his native town, decides that the best course is to let them go on believing he is dead, so that he will be able to start life afresh—a life of freedom released both from family bonds and commonplace conventions. But, if it is easy for him to live a solitary life, the moment he tries to enter human society again and claim his share of its joys and sorrows, he realizes that he has no

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right to do anything. As Mattia Pascal he is dead; as a new man he has no existence for the world—so that when he is robbed of a part of his money, he is completely defenceless against the thief because he cannot have anything to do with the authorities. The only solution for him is to go back to the old sphere, saying that he did not commit suicide, but only feigned it. So as Mattio Pascal he returns to his family, but only to learn that his wife has married again and has a child by the second marriage. And the book ends with Mattia Pascal's sad and resigned return to his library.

This early novel already shows the fundamental idea that the personality of a man is not one, but as many as are the particular situations of mind and of existence. And thus, men can very well change their own personality either with or without their will.

Pirandello shows a wonderful skill in varying the situations, characters and possibilities, though keeping to one fundamental idea. If we go through his bulky production, we easily find that it consists in variations on one and the same theme. This cannot but produce some monotony. Reading Pirandello extensively, you cannot defend yourselves from the impression that his characters have too little vitality, because of too close kinship to one another; they are somewhat pale and effaced figures, not personages of flesh and blood. And this is a most serious limitation to Pirandello's art and his most noticeable shortcoming. Pirandello's plays, even if seen through the performance of the best authors, never raise the public to enthusiasm. Not that actions are wanting; but Pirandello, as soon as he creates a character or a situation, coldly proceeds to analyze and dissect it in a quasi-surgical manner; and the continuous critical examination of the characters hampers the action, makes it slow and even sometimes substitutes itself for it. Thus, it is a theatre of pure thought, of the most obstinately dialectical and logical thought, with no more feeling than what is absolutely necessary. But the skill of Pirandello is such that, even when thought overcomes action, the play never becomes statical, the movement of ideas taking then the place of material action.

There is perhaps only one play in which Pirandello's dialectic rises in level and becomes stirred to the point of going over in a flash of high poesy; and this is *Henry IV*, perhaps Pirandello's masterpiece. To speak about *Henry IV* would require a new paper wholly dedicated to it. Only for avoiding a possible misunderstanding of the title, I

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should say that it is not an historical play. Henry IV is a modern man who, through a fall from the horse during an historical pageant, went insane and felt himself as really being the character he was playing in the pageant, that of the German emperor Henry IV (1056-1105). Without going into further particulars, I shall only try to indicate the items in which this play is different from and superior to the others. As a rule, Pirandello looks at his characters as at figures that, once created, live their own lives without depending any more upon the author, and this explains the absolute coldness with which Pirandello indulges in analyzing the creations of his fancy. They are his own creatures, but the creative act has lasted only a short time, and the unceasing flowing of life has made them strange to him. It happens thus that in no play can we feel the author's creative fire still burning in his characters; at the most, there can only be one personage, whose particular task is to lend voice to the pitiless destructive dialectic of the author. Now, *Henry IV* is a stong exception to this rule. Henry IV is perhaps the only truly living character created by Pirandello, a human being that lives and struggles and suffers before us. And this struggling and suffering, this *becoming-one* of the author with his character gives an exquisite breath of human poesy to the play, and raises it above the others. *Henry IV* is the only work of Pirandello that bears in itself something tragical, in the Greek sense of the word.

Pirandello's philosophy of life shows many elements of absurdity, even of craziness. His ferocious logic, if brought to its last consequences, must of course lead to situations that, though seldom definitely comical, have many humorous sides. We ought also to remember that Pirandello wrote a very interesting essay on humorism; and perhaps it is justified to say that he was the finest Italian humorist of modern times. In his plays humour often pours out in sudden flashes, but never comes to full development, remaining always in the background. Among the stories, on the other hand, we can find not a few that are frankly and decisively comical, and laugh with that healthy, fat, enormous laughter of our ancestors of the sixteenth century, the true *gros sel* of Rabelais. The best specimen of such stories is *La giara* (" The Jar "). Pirandello there attains humour by the simplest means, only by exaggerating and employing for a ridiculous object (an earthen jar) all the skill of his inexorable logic. It is Pirandello himself who laughs about his art's most useful toil,

Pirandello who parodies himself. But the joyful and careless laughter of *The Jar* is quite a rarity in Pirandello. He can see the humorous sides of life, can laugh at them, but his laughter is nearly always a bitter one. This is the heavy toll that must be paid by one who has renounced all the conventions and destroyed all the little hypocrisies that help us in making life easier.

The most fortunate and creative period was the years from about 1912 to 1923. To this time belong the finest stories and the best plays. Later on Pirandello's art loiters and becomes heavier, older. His later plays are for the most part dedicated to the great actress, Marta Abba, who was (and still is) the most true and perfect interpreter of Pirandello's art and thought. But Pirandello has not been able to renovate himself timely; all these later works continually repeat the same motive and are but variations on the old theme of the problem of reality and personality. Pirandello's play best known abroad is *Come tu mi vuoi* (" As you like me "), thanks to its reduction for the screen that was made in America some years ago. Well, just this play has never been on the stage in Italy but for short runs, because our public felt that it was an old and weary play, which repeated with some modifications the same central idea as in *Cosi e se vi pare* (" So is it, if you like it so "). The only merit of *As you like me* is its high standard of technical skill in theatre effects.

From what I have said, we can guess the many merits as also the serious limitations of Pirandello's art. His is fundamentally an analytical temper, with little or nothing left for synthetical thought. He is an accomplished genius of destruction; his implacable dialectic handled by him with an almost devilish skill, plays havoc with all human conventions and lays open all our miseries. Pirandello has been a very useful tonic to Italian literature, in helping to sweep away the last drosses left by dying romanticism and by the influence of the French bourgeois drama of Sardou and his Italian imitators. But he utterly failed in the task of building up again. Pirandello can destroy useless old constructions, but cannot build up anything upon their ruins. This impossibility rests on the very nature of his view of life. Every possible foundation for edifying is lacking, because his indecision between reality and non-reality, his effacement of personality and truth forbid him to raise any new construction, which he himself would be doomed to destroy in pursuance of his theory

and of his logic. Logic is the only solid point in Pirandello's world; to him all is uncertain, fluent, multiform, but he never ceases to rely upon his logic, or rather his dialectic, to whatsoever extreme consequences he may be carried by it. The real protagonist of all his plays and stories is the author's dialectic. One of our best critics, Prof. Adriano Tilgher, said once: "In Pirandello dialectic becomes poetry." I should rather say that Pirandello tries to make poetry out of dialectic; and it gives the real measure of his genius that he succeeded, so far as men can do, in such a difficult task. But this is also one of the limitations of his art, because the poetry of dialectic can appeal to the brain, but never to the heart.

The author is always present in his plays; Pirandello's people are merely characters, not human beings. And these characters, inspite of the author's illusion that they could live a life of their own, really are only marionettes in his hand, poor puppets without a will of their own. Prof. Tilgher says: "Pirandello's characters are fundamentally one and the same, but in always different, although related conditions." As for the characters, so for their speeches too. Although for Pirandello there is not *one* logic, but as many logics as are the individuals, yet we can trace all of them to only one, Pirandello's logic. His very life work, without his will and much against his intentions, gives a formidable *dementi* to his theory of personalities; few Italian authors left such an exquisitely personal work as Pirandello did.

What is Pirandello's position to-day and to-morrow in Italian literature? Pirandello never found real understanding and love among the masses of our people. And he did not search for it. It was against his innermost nature to imitate D'Annunzio's search for popularity at any cost. Pirandello has always been cherished only by a small minority. He speaks to the brain, D'Annunzio speaks to the senses, and the latter found accordingly a much wider resonance. But the mass of the people failed to understand either of them, because neither speaks to the heart.

Pirandello's art does not carry away the public, but compels it to think; his plays do not rouse a storm of applause, but they excite a lot of discussions. I remember that at all performances of Pirandellian plays that I saw the behaviour of the public after the curtain going down was always the same; a few applauses, and immediately the bursting out of a rage of interminable discussions about Pirandello's

view of life. After a performance of *Six Characters in Search of an Author* in Milan, I saw people still standing before the theatre and debating about Pirandello for two hours.

Pirandello, the destroyer of personality, has been such an original and powerful personality himself that he could not leave a Pirandellian school behind him. In Italy there are D'Annunzians, there still are some Carduccians; there are no Pirandellians. We can only notice a certain amount of influence, mostly formal and not deep, on some of the contemporary authors. A typical example is Sem Benelli: his art, which has been an emphatically declamatory D'Annunzianism, felt towards the end a strong Pirandellian influence. But Pirandello's deep moral seriousness, what has been even called Pirandello's puritanism is lacking in Sem Benelli. The last plays of Sem Benelli are a revel of superficial, sophistical dialectic, without any deeper thought behind it, loathsome from an artistic point of view, irritating as theatrical performances. Neither the public nor critics could bear them, and they have been the most unanimously accepted and most clamorous failures of the last year. And this has showed that Pirandellism died with Pirandello. It was a purely negative form of art, created and kept alive by one of the true geniuses of our literature. It was a characteristic product of its time, the pre-War and immediate post-War period. It has been a necessary remedy and succeeded in conquering the disease; but when the disease disappeared, his life-reason ceased to exist. Pirandello will be remembered for ever as one of the best Italian authors of the twentieth century, but not as the starter of a new school.

LAMENT

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

Tears, fears, biers,
Bluestone, tombstone,
Overhead; what below ?
Rising earth
Fleshly dearth,
Bones crackling,
Whips snapping,
Wind moving sand
From nerveless hand.
Lips curled
Ice enfurled.
Worm appears
In frozen node,
Heart dead; long ago.

BRITISH WOMAN IN POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION

DR. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

LONG before any movement for the emancipation of woman was heard of in this country, women had played here great part in politics and administration. It may be that they formed only exceptions to the general rule of the subjection of their sex to the control of the mere male. But still these exceptions provided inspiration and hope to those who in later times fought for freedom for woman. The Salic law which excluded women from succession to the throne in most parts of the Continent was not in operation either in England or in Scotland. So Mary Tudor, Elizabeth, Anne and Victoria had an opportunity of not only ruling their countries but impressing their authority and influence upon their ages. The reactionary Mary Tudor, the shrewd and diplomatic Elizabeth, the obstinate Anne, and the authoritarian Victoria had each played a great part in the formulation of the policy of their Governments and the administration of the day-to-day affairs of their country. Queen Victoria was, until recently, put up in the text books as the great example of a constitutional sovereign who would act up to the decisions of the Ministers of the Crown and would have hardly any policy and will of her own. But the publication of her letters has given the lie to this amiable view of the great queen. She had not only views of her own in both internal and external affairs but what is more, by every method which a queen and a woman has usually at her disposal, she tried to impose them upon her Ministers. In many instances she succeeded in having her own way. It may be said that the views which these queens cherished and the policy which they tried to pursue were often dull, unintelligent and unimaginative, but still the fact remains that they ruled their country with ability and success. Apart from the queens again there had been other women also who from behind the scenes played notable part in the administration of the national affairs. The woman who in this respect will appear uppermost in every mind is certainly no other than Sarah, the Duchess of Marlborough—Mrs. Freeman of Queen Anne. For half the period of Anne's reign, she was the power behind the

throne. Without her approval, little important could be done by the great Ministers of State. She decided the destiny of men and people. The future of many rising politicians was virtually in the hollow of her hands.

But while stray women, crowned or uncrowned, might have opportunity of playing some part in the politics and government of their country, the rest of the women-folk were excluded altogether not only from power but also from influence. They had no political right and hardly any social right as well. They were to be courted and fondled but not to be initiated into the mysteries of the State and its administration. When there was talk of political liberty and social freedom, women were understood to be excluded from it almost automatically and unceremoniously. In 1793, however, Mary Woolstonecraft (Mrs. Godwin) published a book which set many people a-thinking. Her vindication of the rights of woman did not, however, produce much tangible effect immediately. It only gave food for thought to a number of Englishmen at the time. It was not till the sixties of the last century that a real woman movement was set on foot in the country. On the political side its efforts, of course, were mostly barren. The Bill which was sponsored in the House of Commons by John Stuart Mill for enfranchising women was not allowed to advance very far. The thick crust of prejudice which had been generated for centuries against the participation of women in politics could not be removed in a day. But although in this particular Mill was disappointed, the efforts of his and his coadjutors were not in vain in other fields. His great book on the Subjection of Women created a revulsion of feeling in many minds against the position which women occupied in society at the time. Attempts to improve it became more common than ever before. Support for the woman movement became in fact more widespread than it would have been otherwise possible. So although women still remained excluded from political liberty, in other walks of life they were allowed to forge ahead. Educational institutions were now set up in an increasing number to impart instruction in higher literature and science to women. The ancient Universities, of course, still refused to confer any degrees upon women candidates. But still it could no longer be assumed that women could not do as well in higher arts and sciences as men.

As education became more general among women and as they gave proof of their ability in this field, their exclusion from franchise

and the right to participate in national administration became all the more unjustifiable. But still the 19th century passed out without seeing the political emancipation of women in Great Britain. In the early years of the present century a number of women became at last impatient. They found that the constitutional methods which the woman leaders and their male coadjutors had pursued for over forty years had brought no concrete result. They had only been ignored by the different Governments of the day. So these new leaders proceeded to devise new methods of action and new ways of persuading the Cabinet and the Parliament to satisfy their grievances. Thus originated what came to be known as the suffragette (as distinguished from suffragist) movement. Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters were at the head of this struggle which became bitter as years rolled on. For several years they made a hell of the life of many members of the Government and many members of the Parliament. In return they themselves had, of course, to suffer a great deal. They were forced out of meetings which they attended to disturb and if possible to break up. They were arrested and jailed. In prison they resorted to hunger-strike and in consequence had to be forcibly fed. All these had at least one result which the suffragettes were determined to bring about. People in every part of the country and in every class of society became convinced that something must now be done. Not that all of them were convinced that franchise for women was the right thing to introduce, but they were persuaded to believe that in the interests of peace at least it was necessary to confer the right to vote upon women. During the years of the War the suffragettes suspended their movement and depended upon the good sense of the Government, and in this expectation they were no longer disappointed. In the Representation of People Bill which the Government of Lloyd George introduced in the Parliament, a provision was accommodated to the effect that women under certain conditions would have the right to vote in the national elections. After ten years of experience this Act was modified in 1928 and the Act passed in the latter year conferred vote upon women on the same conditions as on men. Today men and women are on the same ground both as regards their vote and as regards their candidature for seats in the House of Commons.

People who had opposed the vote for women based their opposition on several grounds. The first and foremost was that it would break up home and undermine the family life. Secondly, they apprehended

that votes of women would be cast unintelligently and indifferently. They would not have the capacity to discriminate between good and bad policies and between good and bad candidates. So exercise of franchise by women might result in the discredit of the democratic system of government. Lastly, they thought that vote for women, if it was cast intelligently at all, would be only a duplication of the vote for men. In case women voted as they were told to do so by the husbands or other male relatives, they might vote for the right men but in that case the vote would be unnecessary. It would work as if the men had two votes instead of one. It must be said that the experiences of the last twenty years do not show that there was any basis for the first two apprehensions. Home life has been as good or as bad since 1918 as it had been at any time during the previous decades. If it has been modified to some extent, that is due not to the vote but to the other exigencies of modern life. The exercise of vote on the part of women cannot be said to have been very intelligent and very dispassionate. But so has been the exercise of vote by men. Both men and women take to this party or that not because they have scanned the principles and policies of these parties very carefully and rejected the one and accepted the other after considering the pros and cons. They become members of one party or another only as their prejudices dictate. Some people are by nature conservative and some are go-ahead. Again, some have been approached by the agents of one party and the others by the agents of another and it is in this casual way that the choice of parties is often made. And once this choice has been made, the voters exercise their franchise in favour of the candidates which their parties have set up. The candidates may be good or bad but as they have the stamp of the party to which they themselves belong the electors have no hesitation to support them. There are, of course, some floating voters who are not definitely affiliated to any one of the parties. They vote labour, liberal or conservative according to circumstances. This does not mean that they vote for the best candidate. This does only mean that their prejudices are not permanent. They change from time to time. Now they are prejudiced against the conservatives and now against labour. Many of those who had voted for labour in 1924 voted against it in 1925 because of the Zinoviev letter. In this respect men and women sail in the same boat. The former do not make more discrimination and exercise more intelligence than the latter. Then again it has been found that

hardly in any election more than sixty per cent of the voters have exercised their franchise. Those who do not so vote include almost as many men as women. Indifference characterises both in an equal degree. In Bridgwater about 85 per cent of the voters came to the polling booths. This was an exceptional percentage. But in West Perth, simply because the weather conditions were bad and proper arrangements for conveyance could not be made, voters, men and women in equal number, kept away from the poll to the discomfiture of the Duchess of Athol whom in fair weather they would certainly have voted for.

As regards the apprehension that if women were given the vote that would amount to the duplication of the vote of the nearest male relative, it may be said that ordinarily this apprehension has come true. Nor could it have been otherwise. It cannot be expected that husband and wife will, as a matter of course, think differently and vote differently. On the contrary they must be usually expected to have the same convictions and opinions. They must have roughly the same outlook on life and the same attitude towards the different political organisations. But this does not mean that the wife invariably borrows the opinion from the husband and votes according as she is dictated to by him. In many cases it does rather mean that the husband is influenced by the opinions or, if you please, the prejudices of the wife. So if on the ground of the duplication of the vote the wife has to be disfranchised, on the same ground the husband also may need to be deprived of his right. As it is not possible to know as to who influences whom, it is better that both should enjoy the privilege. Mr. and Mrs. Webb (Passfield) have been inseparable partners of the Webb firm, as Mrs. Webb has called it. They have thought together, arranged materials together and written books together. The opinions which the one has expressed singly must have also been influenced and shaped to a considerable degree by the other. Now would it have been justice to deprive Mrs. Webb of her vote on the ground that she was voting in the same way as her husband ?

In fact it may be said that as a result of the political emancipation of women neither the heavens have come down as some people had apprehended nor a new heaven and a new earth have been created as some people had expected. Politics is as interesting or as sordid now after the emancipation of women as it had been before it. There were some who had feared that as a result of the enfranchisement of women

the House of Commons would bristle with women M.P.'s. It was suggested even that possibly the majority of the Cabinet Ministers would be recruited from among women members. A gentleman even wrote a novel entitled "When Women Rule" and described in it with all the vividness of style how the Cabinet Minister in whose hands the destiny of the nation would be placed would spend her time not in issuing orders, not in formulating policies but in gazing upon her private secretary whose charming manners and deferrent attitude would captivate her mind and capture her heart. Actually, however, women franchise has created no such piquant situation. Neither in 10, Downing Street nor in the adjacent buildings Cupid has made his headquarters since 1918. These houses have continued to be as much the centres of hard and prosaic activity as they had been before the Rubicon was crossed. A number of women has gained access to the House of Commons no doubt and one woman was allowed also to be introduced into the *sanctum sanctorum*—the Cabinet and to preside over a great department of Government. But neither at Westminster nor at Whitehall has love interfered with the old prosaic tenor of life. It may be said, of course, that the lady who was in the Cabinet and who was in charge of an important department was too old to think of making love either to her private secretary or to her permanent undersecretary. But one or two other women who were in the Government in a minor capacity were also found, though comparatively young, to be too businesslike to be influenced by softer sentiments. This must have given a rude shock to those to whom romance is the only source of life. But women who come to rule have their own ways. There are again at the present time two couples in the House of Commons but they had been married too long to feel any emotion at each other's presence in the side by side seats which they happen to occupy. Experience has thus belied all the facile prophecies which many made at one time regarding the effects of the political emancipation of women.

Long before women were given the vote and had opportunity of contesting seats in the House of Commons, they had entered the executive departments of the Government. The posts which they were allowed to occupy at first were only of the routine type. During the War, however, many posts of responsibility had to be thrown open to women candidates. When the War was over, there was for the time being a considerable purge no doubt. But this was done only to accommodate the men who had returned from the field. The principle

itself of appointing women to most of the departments and to most classes and grades of the civil service was not abandoned. Rather it was extended. So today men and women are serving at Whitehall in almost all capacities. In only a few cases posts are reserved for men only or for women only. Even the administrative grade of the civil service has been invaded by women. The latter appear along with men at the competitive examinations and in many instances have held their own in such competitions. So by sheer merit they have forced their way into this sanctum.

But although men and women happen to work in the same departments and with equal responsibility, the latter are subject to two discriminatory conditions. In the first place the salary of the women civil servants is smaller than the salary of their male colleagues. In some cases men and women start with equal salary and up to a certain maximum they rise also at the same rate. Then, however, the women are outdistanced by the men. For long women civil servants have agitated for equal salary for equal work. But none of the many Commissions and Commitees which have looked into the subject have found it possible to recommend compliance with this demand. It has been always held that the work which the women civil servants put in is inferior to that put in by a male colleague. So it is not because they are women that they suffer this discrimination. They have to suffer it because they happen to be less efficient than the men civil servants. Against this contention the women have pointed out that there is no satisfactory test of the comparative efficiency on the basis of which the salary of men and women may be determined. But if the examination, through the channel of which recruitment is made, is accepted as a test, there is no doubt about it that women have held their own in such examinations against male competitors. Necessarily in justice to these women officers their salary should be the same as that of men recruits. To this point of view, however, a reply is made to the effect that some women no doubt enter the service through the front door of open competition along with men but in most other instances they are recruited as a result of a special examination in which only women appear. So whatever the validity of the arguments for discrimination in salary is, the fact remains that even for performing the same kind of work and discharging the same kind of responsibilities, women are not paid at the rate at which men are paid. This distinction has appeared as rather galling to many women civil servants.

Secondly, the women civil servants have to submit to a condition which has proved in some cases at least to be very unsympathetic and even cruel. So long as they will remain in service, they must not enter into marriage. If they marry, their services will no longer be required. This rule was first introduced in 1894 and until 1919 it was inexorably applied. But against this rule women civil servants agitated for years together. A Sex Disqualification (Removal) Regulation was adopted in 1919. But it did not abolish this condition against which women civil servants were fighting. It merely empowered the authorities to make an exception in some particular cases. If it was found that some women civil servants possessed special knowledge and ability with regard to certain matters, they might be allowed to continue in service even though married. Until 1931 in only one case this discretion was favourably applied. The condition pressed heavily upon many civil servants who wanted to enjoy simultaneously the sweets of office and the sweets of marriage. Necessarily they carried on the agitation against the condition which they regarded as very unfair. But the Royal Commission on the Civil Services which was presided over by Lord Tomlin and which reported in 1931 left the problem unsolved. A special committee to look into the conditions of service of the women civil servants was appointed on the basis of one of the recommendations of the Tomlin Commission. It also found it impossible to recommend the withdrawal of the marriage bar. But although it has been still retained, the discretion vested in the Treasury is now used more liberally in the case of the civil servants in responsible positions. On this account it has come to be all the more resented by those women who are employed in an inferior capacity. In their case the rule is still inexorable. Some time back a woman civil servant employed in the department of labour applied for permission to marry. She was engaged for about eight years to a bus driver in London and was very anxious to make him a partner of her life. But if previous permission was not granted to that end, she would lose her job. Her application was, however, turned down. A deputation on behalf of the Civil Servants Clerical Association waited upon the head of the Treasury but nothing has come of it. It has practically been brought home to the deputation that on no account such permission would be given to those who are not in the higher grades and cannot claim any special knowledge of any subject and as such whose services are not essential to the department. Why is this insistence on celibacy? It is thought

that a woman who is married and has a household to manage cannot be expected to work with all her heart for the department. Her energy will be considerably frittered away in household work and her attention will be largely diverted by the claims of marriage. In the higher grade where a civil servant is in responsible position and draws a higher salary, she can afford to keep servants to look to her household work. The husband she will marry is also expected to be a man of means. So anyhow, if permission is given in her case, the department is not likely to be a loser to any great extent. Her energy is not likely to be diverted overmuch from the work in the department to that in the household. So marriage must continue under a ban in the inferior offices. Next election is drawing nigh. Will the flappers tolerate this arrangement ?

CULTURAL SCIENCE PSYCHOLOGY *

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THERE is a tendency in contemporary German psychology, which is not adequately represented in our English books on the subject and which to my mind is the most striking thing in recent psychology, as it promises to provide the proper psychological foundations for art, literature, science, religion and other products and aspects of our social and cultural life. It is called by the German authors of the view *Geisteswissenschaftliche Psychologie* to contrast with the relatively older psychology, the *Naturwissenschaftliche Psychologie*. In English they are known as ' Cultural Science ' psychology and ' Natural Science ' psychology.

I have here chosen, though with much hesitation, to offer a few general observations regarding the position of psychology in the Philosophical Congress and proposed a change in the existing mode of teaching the subject in the country. We shall first have these observations, as they will also serve as an introduction to the Cultural Science Psychology.

I have an impression that we in the Philosophical Congress are a little too academic. In fact all our education is unrelated to the environment, social, cultural or physical. The same is true also of scientific and philosophical thought and research ; and that is why, I would submit, we have not succeeded in recent times in making such contribution to Science and Philosophy as perhaps otherwise we could have done, and we wish we did. The real motives for further thought for a people are to be found in the historico-cutural *milieu* of the people. This is, I think, sound psychology. We, on the other hand, seek an abrupt break with our past and wonder why Western motives do not prove quite fruitful. The Western thought, which we seek to understand and propagate, naturally requires to be brought into a real connection with the life of the country. In fact the really effective motives for fresh scientific and philosophical thought can only

* Presidential Address, Psychology Section, Indian Philosophical Congress, Allahabad, December, 1938.

be actuated in us by the problems presented to us by our environment. We have, therefore, I may submit, to remain continually alive to the demands of the life of the country. And just now when the country is making a vigorous effort to reorganise life on new lines, we find problems on every side, which challenge the attention not only of the politician but also of the scientist and the philosopher. The problem, *e.g.*, of social and cultural adjustment, is obviously the most urgent of all, and India in the whole world is the most favourable place for the study of the Psychology and Philosophy of culture, as our land is a veritable museum of religions and cultures. And still it is a fact that we have not made any important contribution on the subject. The importance of this study for India, to my mind, is so great that I do not hesitate to suggest that we ought to possess special Chairs in our Universities for 'the Psychology and Philosophy of Culture.' A psychological investigation of the cultural phenomena in particular, I venture to think, will serve to give us an insight which will help to create a better understanding of the differential features of the various cultures.

I have another impression (which may be as wrong as the one I expressed just now) that Psychology in the Philosophical Congress is looked upon as rather a stranger. No doubt since Wundt founded the first psychological laboratory in Leipzig in 1879, Psychology has sought to become ever more experimental and align itself as an independent science with the natural sciences. Now, is it the experimental detail that fills our modern books on psychology that frightens the philosopher-psychologist ? Or, is it because he recognises that the Science Congress has a better claim over the science that he feels he must renounce it ?

I shall confess that I, as a student of philosophy, am not at all prepared to lose contact with psychology. And it certainly makes me unhappy to see psychology relatively neglected in the Philosophical Congress. I think there are reasons why it should continue to figure as an active section in this body even when it has been accepted and given place in the Science Congress.

But before I present the manifold reasons showing the various points of contact between Psychology and Philosophy, I would plead that the experimental method should now receive proper recognition even at the hands of the philosopher-psychologist. It will interest us to know that in Physics and Chemistry too experiment has had to

pass through several stages before it came to hold the position that it does today. Originally the scientists alone had private laboratories of their own where they carried on research work. The students were given instructions in the subjects after the time-honoured philosophical method of explaining things from the arm-chair. The next stage was reached when the students began to be given demonstrations with their lessons. That certainly meant a great fillip to the spirit of observation of facts. However, the last stage, when the individual student was afforded facilities to perform experiments himself, came about as late as the middle of the last century.

We require today to cultivate in the study of Psychology in our country the same spirit of observation of facts and for that it is necessary that our Psychology lessons should at least be accompanied by suitable demonstrations. These demonstrations, as those having some acquaintance with experimental Psychology know, need not be very elaborate. We will not be interested in the quantitative determination of experiences and their conditions, but just in their qualitative aspects. And it is easy enough to pick up in a couple of months that amount of experimental work, if one needs it, at any of the numerous psychological laboratories that we today possess in our country. It is necessary to do so, as "a Psychology without the experimental part is today an anachronism"[1] We can neither understand nor teach Psychology today without some experience of the experimental method.

But the experimental method is certainly not the whole of psychology. Perhaps it is certain that experiment will never be able to conquer the whole realm of mind. The higher functions of will and thought and the unity and uniqueness of personality are certain striking facts of mental life, which perhaps will never be made to fit the technique of the experiment. And I think that psychology will always stand in need of the services of the philosopher who will also always have some use of psychology. Professor H. P. Maiti in his address to this Congress in 1934 had emphasized the various points of contact between Psychology and Philosophy and I would support and supplement his statement when I say that the philosopher-psychologist will perhaps always have even an independent field of mind to investigate and study. Of course, he is no longer the arm-chair

[1] Collins and Drever, quoted from Spearman, *Psychology Down the Ages*, p. 88.

psychologist of the old model. He too has caught the contagion o the experimental spirit and is, therefore, more systematic and carefu in his observations and pays due attention to the various circumstance operative in a case. This independent field of his investigation wil primarily consist of all such facts as the unity and uniqueness o personality and the higher functions of thought and will, which ar not amenable to experiment and from which, if forced into experimen (as the experimentalist is in danger of doing), a perversion of truth an fact is likely to result. Then the numerous disputes of standpoint constituting what is todaycalled the 'crisis' in psychology, fall properly speaking within the ken of the philosopher-psychologist. Next th various non-experimental movements in psychology will easily attrac and engage him and it is hardly necessary to mention them as the are quite numerous and well-known. One of them, in fact the mos important, *viz.*, the Cultural Science Psychology, we will be considerin shortly. Lastly, the psychological method of philosophy has, throug the success and contribution of the numerous recent philosophica tendencies, created a permanent place for itself in philosophy. Scheler in his book, 'Die Transcendentale and die Psychologische Methode, while seeking to establish the limitations of the psychological metho which Wundt, Mach, Avenarius and Bergson have applied to philosophy clearly recognises its permanent value for philosophy in these words "Our criticism of the transcendental method has sought to show a many points that the Psychological as against the Transcendental o Critical Method possesses in philosophy an unassailable right."[2]

There is another whole realm of facts, which a psychologist i called upon to deal with, and which is not amenable to experimentation. This realm is the vast subject-matter that fills the pages o Wundt's ten volumes of 'Völker-Psychologie.' Art, science, literature religion, language, custom, law, etc., presented in the highly comple unity of the concrete cultural life of man, are the subject-matter of a branch of psychology, which Wundt called Völker-Psychologie bu which is today better known as the Psychology of Culture. Wundt recognises the importance of this study even as a method for the investigation of the higher mental processes. Boring observes "Wundt never held that the experimental method is adequate to the whole of psychology; the higher processes, he thought

[2] Max Scheler, *Die Transszendentale and die Psychologische Methode*, 1922, p. 151.

must be got at by the study of human nature, his Völker-Psychologie."[3]

Culture is a highly complex synthetic fact which calls for the comprehending faculties of the philosopher-psychologist rather than that of the analytical scientist. Here is then a branch of psychology which holds out perhaps the best promise to man, because it seeks to tackle the problems most vital to him and which is primarily not amenable to experimentation. Obviously the philosopher-psychologist has in a way here an exclusive field of study in the realm of mind.

Next there is a whole type of psychology which is bound to please the philosopher a great deal, and it is the Cultural Science Psychology.

Today it is most commonplace to talk of a 'Crisis' in psychology, but nowhere is the crisis more significantly and justifiably presented as in the opposition between the natural science psychology and the cultural science psychology. Kluver[4] and M. Freienfels[5] find that these two types of psychologies represent the two standpoints, which do really exhaust between themselves all the modern psychological schools. But we will have to wait a little more before we can actually undertake to expound the standpoint of this new kind of psychology.

"Science is," Spencer said, "partially unified knowledge" and though the classification of science has been variously attempted, we might here distinguish them into natural and social or cultural sciences, corresponding to the German division of *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften* or *Kulturwissenschaften*. The former are best exemplified by Physics and Chemistry and the latter by Economics, Politics, and Ethics. Natural sciences are concerned with the objects of nature. And their procedure is to observe facts, describe them and seek to find out their mechanical causal explanations with the help of the methods of Analysis, Experiment, Induction, Deduction, Hypothesis and Generalisation.

The *Geisteswissenschaften*, on the other hand, are concerned with the facts and the products of the social life of man, like art, religion, science, language, history, law, custom, etc. Now these are

3 Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, p. 322.
4 Kluver, Supplement in Murphy's *Historical Introduction to Modern Psychology*.
5 M. Freienfels, *Die Hauptrichtungen der gegenwartigen Psychologie*.

all essentially the products of inter-subjective intercourse and possess a trans-subjective validity. But they are un-understandable without the individual subjects, which have developed them and also recognise them. That gives a basic difference between the two groups of sciences. The work of the *geisteswissenschaften* begins only there, says Windleband,[6] where a willing and a knowing subject is essential to the phenomena. Or, in the words of Dilthey, *geisteswissenschaften* are the sciences which are concerned with the historico-social reality.

For a reasoned statement of the standpoint of the Natural Science Psychology, we cannot do better than turn to Titchener. He says that " if Psychology is to fill a chapter in the history of science, it must be because the facts and laws of Psychology are strictly co-ordinate, formally interchangeable with the facts and laws of established sciences.[7] Further the data of science . . . . . are, stripped of meaning, bare existences."[8] They are to be " scoured clear of . . . . . inference, and . . . . . evaluative accretion."[9] This is the existential type of Psychology which, Titchener thinks, " can take its place as a pure science alongside of physics and biology."[10] It will interest us much more to read from him that " the subjective " factors, the emotive processes are taken in the same existential way ; so that psychology is freed from any concern about judgments of value. It is true that these judgments have their growth in psychological soil, and that feeling is the basis of value. Psychology, nevertheless, considers the emotive process precisely, as it considers the ideas, it analyses them, makes out their modes of interconnection. And the term ' subject ' if it is at all used is to be treated as a shorthand name for a group of phenomena, which in point of fact are just as objective as the phenomena of natural science."[11]

We might make a little digression here to consider *Gestalt* Psychology in relation to the question of the general nature of psychology and the main problem of science we have just been discussing. On the point of the chief problem of science we know that Gestalt

6 Eisler, *Worterbuch der Philosophischen Begriffe*, art. Geisteswissenschaften.
7 Titchener, *Systematic Psychology*, Prolegomena, p. 27.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
10 Woodworth, *Contemporary Schools of Psychology*, p. 42.
11 Titchener, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Psychologists are most pronounced in their opposition to the method of analysis. Von Ehrenfels had already shown how real in itself a "Gestalt-qualitat" is. It is a quality which is possessed by an object by virtue of its being an organised whole and is not possessed by any of the parts making the whole. A melody possesses a quality which none of the component notes possesses. That quality belongs only to a certain arrangement, an organization of notes. In fact, by changing over to another key, we get an altogether new set of notes, but the melody-quality may remain the same. The Gestaltists urge that by breaking up a whole into its parts we can never hope to get the essential character of that whole. Therefore the main problem of science is not analysis but the investigation of the properties of the organized wholes. And this is not only true of Psychology; the Gestalt principle is sought to be extended to Physics and Chemistry too.

But while Gestaltism is opposed to Titchenerian Psychology as, in fact, to all science in regard to the main problem and method of analysis that it employs, it is in agreement with the natural science standpoint of Titchener for Psychology. Mental facts are for the Gestalt Psychologist as much as for Titchener exactly like the facts of external nature. The only difference is that whereas the one seeks to break up the complex mental processes into their elements, the other takes them as organised wholes, the properties of which it is the primary object of science to study. The "*Ich-bezogenheit*," *i.e.*, the subjective reference and implication of the mental processes is as much of no account to the one as to the other.

Cultural science psychology differentiates out from the natural science psychology first in the recognition that the facts of mental life are fundamentally of a different order from those of natural science. Ward has pointed out this difference very clearly. He says: "The language the physicist uses is simply: it is this or that—*a*, *b*, *c* or *d*. But the psychologist cannot say there are such and such presentations or feelings or movements—as if they were independent entities."[12] On the other hand, he has to say that "the individual experience has such and such presentations, feels thus and thus and acts in this wise or that wise."[13] A mental process is always somebody's process and to talk of a 'state of consciousness,' divorced from its subjective

[12] Ward, *Psychological Principles*, p. 23.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

reference, the " *Ich-bezogenheit* " character, is to see it in a mutilated form. Thus psychology must be ' the science of individual experience '[14] as Ward said, or ' the science of the individual subject '[15] as Spranger put it.

Now other features of cultural science psychology are more or less derived from it. We investigate the nature of the subject and for Ward it possesses two things : one, the faculty to attend and act, and two, the capacity to feel. Spranger characterises the subject or self as *Sinnerzeugende* (meaning—creating) and *Sinnerlebende* (meaning—experiencing) and as definitely *Srtukturiert*, that is, possessing a definite ' structure,'[16] which constitutes its individuality. Now this subject is in continuous interplay with the environment which is first social or cultural and then physical so far as our subject is concerned. Each subject through its activity with the environment continuously creates values of various kinds, economic, political, moral, religious, scientific, etc., and apprehends those that are already objectively given. Thus the cultural environment of art, literature, science, education, economics and politics, morality and religion, which is the primary environment for the subject, is permeated through and through by valuation and the essential nature of our subject too is value-creating and value-seeking. Now one might ask how could one hope to understand mental processes in their true character, if they were divorced from value. It is, therefore, that the concept of value has been considered to give the difference between the natural and the cultural sciences.

The values of our cultural life as exemplified in art, literature, etc. have ultimately been created by the subjects. Thus the study of personalities becomes of fundamental importance for cultural science psychology. Hence we must understand the different types of uniqueness of personality-structures, because they hold the key to the understanding of the different objective manifestations of culture. Thus the cultural science psychology will tend to develop primarily an individualising tendency of the historian to study and classify uniquenesses rather than to discover general laws which the natural sciences do.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[15] Saupe, *Die Einfurhrung in der neueren Psychology*, art. Geisteswissenschaftliche Psychologie.
[16] *Cf.* Krueger, *Der Strukturbegriff in der Psychologie.* The German usage of the term in contemporary psychology is just the opposite of the English usage of it. There it stands for a ' whole.'

" Natural sciences are," it is said, " nomothetic, cultural sciences idiographic." That is, the former seek casual connection, the latter uniqueness.

Here one comes very close to one of the important claims and also the tests of cultural science psychology. Dilthey had already affirmed that a cultural science psychology was of the fundamental importance to the *Geisteswissenschaften* so that it alone gave the proper foundation for their understanding. Storring[17] rightly points out that the Natural Science Psychology too has rendered much useful service to the understanding of the various cultural provinces. But obviously Cultural Science Psychology will be more competent to do so, since it starts with the concrete given whole of the historico-cultural reality as its primary data, which it then seeks to characterise and analyse. Natural science psychology starts by rejecting all valuation-implications of experience and it should then be no wonder that it finds it at last difficult to explain ' meaning ' or properly understand the cultural phenomena. If you divorce mental phenomena to start with from meaning, which is essential to it, then naturally later on you will feel forced to take recourse to some artificial devices to provide for it. And then how will ' unmeaning ' sensations and images account for meaning ? *Geisteswissenschaftliche* psychology scores a great point over the other type of psychology in its doctrine of meaning. A proper foundation to meaning is provided only when it is recognised as a fundamental tendency of the human mind to create meaning wholes, in which values find an objective realisation. " To produce an objective world of this kind out of itself is one of the most fundamental laws of mental life, depending upon its essential nature."[18] The mind of man is, in fact, as we have said before, a meaning-creating (Sinn-erzeugende) and meaning-experiencing (Sinner ebende) principle of existence.

The method of investigation of the cultural sciences, aiming as they do at the apprehension of ' value ' and ' meaning,' has naturally to be different. Dilthey had declared fairly long ago, " Die Natur

[17] Storring, *Die Frage der Geisteswissenschaftlichen und Verstehenden Psychologie.* This work undertakes a comprehensive critique of the cultural science psychology and proceeds by first giving copious quotations from the writings of the original authors. These quotations, in the absence of the complete works of the authors, have been the main basis of the representation of cultural science psychology given above.

[18] Saupe, *op. cit.*

erklaren wir, das Seelenleben Verstehen wir."[19] We explain nature, but we understand mind. Nature, says Dilthey, presents to us discrete events, which we seek to interrelate by making hypotheses and supplying causes. This is the method of explaining. But in the *Geisteswissenschaften* the facts are directly given as interconnected wholes, as *Zusammenhange*. These we simply seek to *understand*, *i.e.*, determine the meaning or the value-content of those facts It may be observed that the peculiarity of the method of understanding is a consequence of the special nature af the subject-matter of the cultural sciences. With Dilthey ' understanding ' was still a vague conception, a kind of an ' artistic intuition ' and it is really Spranger's achievement to have developed it into a definite instrument of investigation. It is, says he, " the peculiar cultural science method of investigation by means of which the individual mind obtains connection with the objective mind, in that it apprehends the meaning of a concrete mental objectification."[20] " The result of this understanding activity is then the apprehension of the meaningful."[21] That understanding activity possesses a creative tendency is apparent from the fact that we often give new objective forms to an understood meaning. Further since all objective forms of spirit once proceeded from individual minds, therefore all understanding ultimately is the understanding of personalities, their ' structural ' properties and the dominant value-tendencies. To take an example to illustrate ' understanding,' we might contemplate a child at play. Now do we understand his activity when we have described the states of consciousness of the child at that time ? In fact, we understand it only when we apprehend the meaning of the activity.

Spranger's characterisation of ' understanding ' is not uniform throughout. At first he said " understanding in the widest sense of the term means the apprehension of the mental organization in the form of objectively valid knowledge as meaningful."[22] Later he modifies it to say that 'understanding' means apprehending given facts in the relation of a whole as meaningful."[23] The meaning of the

[19] Dilthey, *Ideen Uber eine beschreibende und zergliedernde psychologie* (in sitzungsberichte der preuss Akad d. wiss. 1894) quoted from Storring, *op. cit.*
[20] Saupe, *op. cit.*
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*

parts of a machine are determined by the meaning or purpose of the machine as a whole, *i.e.*, the work that it does.

Sich hinein versetzen (to put one's self in the place of) is the condition *sine qua non* of all psychological understanding. To understand a particular social fact, you require to imagine the type of personality and the mental act that it is a product of and then identify yourself with it. That is how you put yourself in the place of another personality to understand that social fact.

Our argument has become much too long for an address of this kind, but we must go back for a moment to the point that we started from. We complained of an increasing lack of interest amongst philosophers for psychology and the feeling that psychology is a stranger in the philosophical Congress. We, in fact, undertook to show the various points of contact that must perhaps permanently exist between Philosophy and Psychology and then proceeded to delineate the character of a whole psychology which, we said, was bound to interest the philosophers a great deal. It has been presented to them and it is really now for them to judge the promise and the appeal that it has for them. To my mind this psychology fits in with their temperamental type, as it is non-experimental, perhaps, anti-experimental, and requires the comprehending and synthesising activity of the philosopher for its chief method. The philosopher-psychologist by cultivating this psychology, it is obvious, besides making positive contributions to psychology and the other *Geisteswissenschaften*, will exercise a necessary healthy check upon the expansive tendency of the natural science psychologist to force every kind of mental process into the narrow limits of experiment. Philosophy and psychology are old friends, but, of late, they have been looking at each other with mistrust, as philosophers do not feel quite happy to see the ever-widening field of encroachment of Experiment upon the realm of mind and the psychologists are never tired of complaining about the embarrasments caused to Psychology by its entanglements with Philosophy. But perhaps the two kinds of psychologies which we have been discussing are supplementary in character. Not that either this or that must be right and then the other necessarily wrong, but that they represent two different lines of approach to the same subject-matter. And judged by the measure of success that both of them have had in the application of their doctrines, one feels encouraged to affirm that either of them possesses a measure of validity. If this reconciliation

between the two standpoints is possible, then Philosophy and Psychology can meet again and be friends. They can co-operate in a common cause to study mind, expecting to supplement and make good the defects of each other. And a compromise also becomes possible regarding the conflict of claims over the matter of Psychology between the Philosophical Congress and Science Congress, as the former would naturally patronize the cultural science of psychology and the latter natural science experimental type of psychology. And either of them would be happy to possess the type of psychology that it likes. Even a positive amity will grow if the realization deepens that the standpoint of Cultural Science Psychology and that of Natural Science Psychology are supplementary and thus helpful to each other.

SRI AUROBINDO AND THE MEANING OF EVOLUTION

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THE present age is characteristically an age of dynamism. The notions of activity and change, becoming and process have received exaggerated emphasis and exalted significance. The concept of evolution has even been erected into an ultimate metaphysical category, and we have begun to hear not merely of a philosophy of evolution but of evolutional philosophies. The truth of absolute being lies in the eyes of modern thinkers in absolute becoming, and we have on this point a meeting of radical extremes in contemporary philosophy.

The mind of man has always recognised an incurable antinomy between being and becoming, between permanence and change, between the eternal and the temporal. Our understanding which operates with rigid and trenchant categories has found it convenient to cut out one of these inseparable contraries and to enthrone the other as the integral Truth. Every form of thinking which is dominated by religious experience and speculative thought must necessarily start with the supreme reality of an eternal and unchangeable whole. The world-process in time which consists of a kaleidoscopic procession of events must be either summarily dismissed as a pure illusion and naught as Permenides did; or accorded a sort of empirical reality, as by Sankar, which is, be it noted, nothing but a mere concession to the popular way of thinking; or treated as a function of erroneous perception having roots in ultimate reality, as McTaggart takes it; or finally, regarded as a distorting medium of self-expression on the part of the Absolute, as Bradley would have it. Whatever the minor differences, all the above views sacrifice the temporal to the eternal, the cosmic process to a supra-cosmic truth, either wholly or partly. Hegel has tried his best to do justice to both the terms of the antithesis, and has spoken of change and permanence, time and eternity as forming an impregnable correlativity. But if we care to dig beneath the heaps of catching phraseology, we will find that even Hegel was not able to get away from the necessity of putting an illusion, a Täuschuung, at

the root of the changing process in time. The Absolute of Hegel is eternally perfect and self-realised, though it is also, as Hegel hastens to point out, eternally self-realising. But the Absolute has to be eternally self-realising by reason of the fact that it constantly forgets its own perfection and plays with the fond illusion that it has yet to reach a higher consummation of its nature. " The consummation of the Infinite End, therefore, consists merely in removing the illusion which makes it seem yet unaccomplished. The Good, the absolutely Good, is eternally accomplishing itself in the world: and the result is that it need not wait upon us, but is already, by implication as well as in full actuality, accomplished."[1]

While religious and speculative philosophy sacrifices becoming to being, the dominant tendency of contemporary thought which allows itself to be influenced by the ethical standpoint and seeks its clues from sense-experience is eager to sacrifice being to becoming and to accept as final the world-process as an endless onward march. Contemporary thought is impatient with any suggestion of transcendence and favours a consistent and thorough-going application of the principle of immanence. In early Greek thought, Heracleitus first propounded the doctrine of universal flux, but his was almost a solitary voice drowned by the more eloquent advocacies of the timeless Deity. At the present day, Bergson is the most uncompromising champion of the gospel of becoming and he regards non-temporal reality as a shadow of the intellect which is tied down to the practical sphere. In practical life, our whole attention is fixed upon the immovable end of our movement, and we either totally neglect or relegate to comparative unimportance the process of movement itself. The notion of a changeless reality sustaining and controlling the cosmic process of evolution is the offspring of an illegitimate transference of practical concepts to the domain of pure speculation. Reality is, in Bergson's opinion, pure change and development, " a perpetual upspringing of unforeseen and unforeseeable forms." There can be no room in such an all-pervasive, continuous flux for any non-temporal eternally accomplished fact.

We have also other no less illustrious high-priests of evolutionism. Prof. Alexander regards the world as a spatio-temporal scheme, a scene of perpetual change and of emergence at critical stages of unique and

1 The Logic of Hegel (Wallace's translation), pp. 351-52.

novel qualities. Even the Deity of religion is, in Alexander's opinion, only a future possibility with which the universe is just in travail, and towards which it is constantly straining forward. William James is ruthless in his criticism of the view which gives us a " block-universe " and reduces evolution to " a dull rattling off of a chain forged innumberable years ago." He emphatically holds that the world is a concatenated series of changes, that it is a living, moving and growing sort of universe that we inhabit. Italian Neo-Idealists also make the moral point of view absolute and emphasise the endless perfectibility of the universe. Gentile holds that reality is an unceasing spiritul act, a creative and constructive process which never looks behind but constantly leaves behind what it creates. Thus we find that thinkers from diametrically opposed schools of thought have joined hands in enthroning absolute becoming in the place of absolute being, in accepting evolution as the final truth of existence.

One can realise from the foregoing that finite thought or reason is unavoidably condemned to an oscillation between two rigidly opposed alternatives. Either we accept a supra-temporal reality and in consequence feel it necessary to degrade the march of evolution to a meaningless show, or we start with the irreducible reality of the evolutionary process and then accept it as the ultimate and integral truth, relegating the notion of the non-temporal Absolute to the realm of thought's abstractions. But the " Either-Or " formula of thought-controlled philosophy is an unfailing mark of the impotence of reason to envisage truth in its totality. Thought has necessarily to proceed through rigid disjunctions, seizing now on this, now on that aspect of reality, and failing to combine the seemingly discordant strains into a complex symphony. The fusion of all apparent discords can be achieved only when we can rise above the schematism of the intellect and attain to a supra-mental vision. The ancient Vedic *ṛiṣis* and the Upanisadic seers of India sought to unravel the mysteries of existence from such a supra-mental plane. Sri Aurobindo in our own day is untiring in his insistence on the supra-mental character of Truth, and he constantly urges the necessity not only of rising up to the supra-mental but also of bringing it down to the earth-consciousness to effect a radical transformation of our present level of existence. We shall consider below what Sri Aurobindo has, in keeping with the ancient *ṛiṣis* of India, got to say with regard to the goal and meaning of the cosmic process of evolution.

Out of the fullness of experience there surely arises a deep conviction in an all-sustaining Supreme who is far above the stream of time. It is as necessary to acknowledge the supreme reality of the supra-temporal Divine as to admit the stubborn fact of the temporal flow of events. Sri Aurobindo agrees that the world-process (*bhuvana*) with the endless multitude of creatures (*bhūta*) evolving within it must have for its sustaining principle an eternal existence (*sat*), which is also an infinite consciousness (*cit*), and infinite delight (*ānanda*) *Saccidānanda* who is the Alpha and Omega of creation is eternally perfect and self-realised. If so, the question will then arise: How to harmonise his eternally perfect nature with the process of evolution which is seeking through strife and struggle, through failure and success, ever to bring into actualisation something higher and better and newer? Are we to accept this cosmic drift as a meaningless " tale told by an idiot full of sound and fury and signifiying nothing"? Assuredly no. Sri Aurobindo holds that the process of evolution is notonly real but has also a definite goal and purpose. The reality and the goal of evolution are to be traced to Divine *Līlā*. And the word *Līlā* is not for Aurobinda a mere euphemism for the purely illusory character of the world as viewed from the ultimate standpoint. Though *Saccidānanda* is eternally perfect and full in his transcendental nature, still it is part of his Will to manifest himself, express the infinite richness of his being under a variety of other conditions. The process of evolution in which we are involved is the process of divine self-manifestation in a specific way, *i.e.*, under the conditions of the material world. Besides God's self-revelation in the conditions of matter, He has also other orders of self-fulfilment under other different sets of conditions. The different planes of spiritual existence with which a *yogi* gets acquainted in his upward flight bear witness to these hierarchies of creation.

The Vedic *ṛiṣis* have spoken of seven worlds (*saptaloka*) such as *Bhūs*, *Bhuvas*, *Svar*, *Mahas*, *Tapas*, *Jana* and *Satya*. *Bhūs* signifies matter or the physical world; *Bhuvas*, life on the vital world; *Svar*, the mental world; *Mahas*, the supermind; *Tapas*, absolute consciousness—force ; *Jana*, absolute bliss, and *Satya*, absolute being or reality. Sri Aurobindo points out that these seven principles of existence are identical in their being though they are diverse in their functioning. In every one of these the rest are involved. *Satya*, *Tapas* and *Jana* constitute the triune nature of the highest and all-inclusive reality *Saccidānanda* (infinite being, infinite consciousness and infinite bliss). *Bhūs* or

matter is the manifestation of the element of being in *Saccidānanda*, and in matter there are naturally involved the other principles. Life is the manifestation of the element of consciousness-force *cit-śakti* in *Saccidānanda*. Mind is the outer working of the *Manas*, the supra-mental. And of the element of Ananda or bliss in *Saccidānanda*, it is the soul or the psyche which may be regarded as the manifestation. Thus Aurobindo adds one more, namely, the psyche, to the list of seven principles enumerated by the Vedic seers, and we have altogether eight principles—the material, the vital, the mental, the psychic, the supra-mental, and the triune glory of the Spirit or *Saccidānanda*. We shall now see how these principles function to constitute the complex harmony of the cosmic process.

We have already said that the universe we live in is one among many forms of self-manifestation of the Divine. The point of departure here is matter, and the purpose is to bring forth into full revelation the riches of the nature of God under the conditions provided by matter. But is it bare matter empty of all other principles which is to serve as the " nurse of all becoming " ? That would have led to the stultification of reason and have taken away the necessity from the emergence of life, mind, etc., one after another in ordered succession. That would have left the cosmic drift without any significant driving-force which might give it a definite direction. We have no objection to admit with Tyndall that " matter contains the promise and potency of the whole of terrestrial life." Only, we must note that this matter is not what we in our profound ignorance take it to be ; it is the primal manifestation of *Saccidānanda* Himself: it is, as we have already observed, the expression of the element of infinite being (*sat*) in *Saccidānanda*. It has been seen that the seven or eight principles of which the web of existence is woven are identical in being, though they are diverse in outward action. So in matter with which our world starts there must be involved all the other principles. It is this *involution* of all in one which constitutes the necessity of *evolution* and imparts a specific direction to the cosmic drift. It is because life-energy is already involved in matter in a form suited to it, in the sub-vital form, as Aurobindo would put it, that Life appears in all its articulation in course of evolution. Similarly, it is because Mind is already involved in matter and in life, that the course of evolution can in fullness of time bring it forth into explicit manifestation.

It will be instructive to note here the distinction between the above view and the Western doctrine of emergent evolution. Prof. Alexander goes behind matter and treats it as a kind of emergent quality which comes to qualify specific configurations of spatio-temporal elements or events. But while according to Alexander that which is prior to matter, that which functions as the matrix of all existence and the stuff of all becoming is hyphenated Space-Time conceived as a comprehensive system of motion. Aurobindo indentifies this ultimate principle with none other than *Saccidānanda,* who is a self-existent and self-luminous principle of pure bliss. The notion of space-time as the stuff of all existence arises out of a demand for something more ultimate than matter, combined with a failure to obtain a richer principle of creativity. If space and time are only forms, whether forms of perception or forms of existence, no amount of hyphenating will convert them into a stuff or a matrix. Alexander takes over from Spinoza the view that it is not space or extension that is the attribute of matter but that it is rather the material objects which are the modes of space. But a more accurate representation of Spinoza's view would be that the material objects are the modes not of space but of God under the aspect or attribute of extension just as finite selves are the modes of God under the aspect of thought. Even Prof. Einstein regards space-time not as itself a stuff but as a mere form of some more ultimate stuff or substance the precise nature of which it is beyond his interest definitely to formulate. Sir James Jeans goes a step further and would regard space not even as the framework of nature but of the world of our sense-perceptions.[2] We may say that space and time are cosmic forms of God's self-extension and self-revelation. They are the media through which God pours out His inexhaustible riches and spreads out His infinite being.

In the second place, Alexander regards matter, life, mind, etc., as a series of emergent qualities which appear on the scene of empirical reality on the attainment of an increasingly greater degree of complexity of structure and function on the part of point-instants or events. But as to the source of these unique emergent qualities he leaves us completely in the dark. The fact of emergence he is inclined to treat as a miracle, and he invites us to accept it as

[2] The New Background of Science, 264.

a final inexplicability. But this is hard for reason to swallow. We can neither conceive of a positive fact emerging from a pure void or emptiness, nor can we accept any sort of inexplicability in the name of finality.

Dr. Pringle Pattison has sought to explain the emergence of qualitative differences by tracing them to the hitherto unmanifest riches of the Absolute. He holds that the series of emergent qualities are a progressive manifestation on the empirical plane of the inexhaustible riches of the nature of the Absolute. The view of Pringle Pattison is surely an improvement on Alexander's conception of the matter. But there is a serious defect lurking even in this position. According to Pringle Pattison, as also Alexander, the emergent qualities seem to emanate from without or from above and not gradually evolve from within, and to be thrust into the evolutionary series at certain stages. They cease to have any organic connection with their substructure. Life, for example, supervenes from above and has no organic relation to its material substructure. Similarly, mind is a ' supervenient perfection ' having no strictly organic connection with its vital or nervous substructure. But the facts of experience flatly contradict any such lack of organic continuity. The material frame has not merely a suitable constitution which fits it to function as the vehicle of life ; life-energy is in fact an organically related aspect of physical forces which is gradually brought to articulate self-expression and self-fulfilment in living beings in the course of evolution. Similarly, the organism is not just adequately developed and suitably constituted to bear mentality thrust on it from above ; mentality was already present in the lower forms of organism in a submental or subconscious form so that it has been gradually brought forth into explicit self-realisation by the forward march of evolution. Thus we find that Evolution must have for its necessary prius Involution.[3] It is because *Saccidānanda* is already involved in matter with all the principles of His nature, that the evolutionary process holds out the prospect of a progressive manifestation of the hitherto unmanifest ' novelties ' until we have an integral self-revelation under terrestrial conditions of the triune glory of the Spirit.

(To be continued)

[3] The Life Divine, Chap. 50.

IS RELIGION AN ILLUSION ?

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DR. Freud in his recent book, *The Future Of An Illusion*, has emphatically declared that our religious ideals and dogmas, and indeed our entire religious culture dependent on them, are all illusions. They are illusions, for, they aim at narcissistic satisfaction. They arise from our reverence and fear of our fathers. We speak of God, the Universal Father, as the Destiny of mankind, for, we are still under the clutches of the ' father-complex.' It is for this reason that he regards mankind as but children still under the illusion of such a powerful complex. People might say that the modern culture as it stands has real benefits, and our religious ideas have surely some valuable contributions to the culture. If religion were solely an illusion, no such cultural benefits would have been possible. To this Freud remarks that surely modern culture has got much from the religious ideals and ideas, but they are not valuable for the progress of human culture in its true sense. In this age of rationalism, we must try to remove all the wrongs and defects that exist in our cultural life. The existing religious ideas are due to our father-complex. In our infancy we suffered from this complex, and now at the height of our civilization, we are suffering from a type of complex which is not far removed from its root. It is only an advance from the personal neurosis to the universal neurosis. So, to attain real progress in our culture, we must make ourselves absolutely free from this complex. This alone would help us more successfully to adapt ourselves to the " reality-principle."

A critical examination of these ideas of Dr. Freud will at once point out that his criticism is from the side of a psychologist. But religion is not merely constituted by our religious ideas and dogmas, it has a reference to our entire life. It points to a way of living. It is concerned with the problem of adjustment of our organism with the environment. So we should not consider religion from the standpoint of psychology alone, but from the standpoint of the philosophy of religion.

We are not merely concerned with the roots of our religious ideas, but we must have a reverence for our culture of religion which has a truth behind. We find enough of vagueness in his insistence on our adjustment to the reality-principle. He has not defined what he means by it. He ought to have considered more fully the adjustment itself, and this would have revealed to him that true religion lies in proper adjustment of ourselves to the environment. A very fruitful and cogent argument comes from H. N. Wieman, who in his book, *The Wrestle of Religion with Truth*, shows that " religion is the most complete and full-orbed expression of striving towards interaction with the widest and fullest environment, physical and social, minute and vast, past, present and future, far and near, actual and possible " (p. 140).

From this it is evident that religion has its deeper roots. It does not arise from any of our ideas, right or wrong. It has its root in the very core of our lives, which consists only in adjustments. It is an undying fire of human aspiration which is attained through higher and higher forms of adjustments to higher and higher orders of environments. This ideal of religion directly leads us to think that our religious ideas are not illusions, but behind them, there is a very strong philosophic background. Indeed, behind religion, there is philosophy, but all the same, religion is not merely philosophy. It is not merely theoretical, not a system of concepts and a search for truth merely, but the consideration of our way of living. It is living a life in interaction with reality. We are adjusting ourselves to reality, and reality expresses itself in and through us. The environment or the universe as a whole is focussed in us, and we in turn are sharing the whole environment in us. We are organisms in constant relation with the evolving universe. Religion teaches us to facilitate this way of living, which tells us to share the whole universe in all its entirety. The spirit of this religion is very well found in the philosophy of organism of Whitehead. Wieman tries to establish the truths of his philosophy of religion on Whitehead's view on the same subject. In this article we shall show that Freud's criticism against religion rests on certain psychological ideas, but it cannot affect the contours of the philosophy of religion.

To form a clear idea of Wieman's view on religion, we have to direct our attention for some time to the philosophy of organism as held by Whitehead. Whitehead's famous book, *Religion in the Making*,

beautifully presents to us the place and function of God. He is not concerned with finding out a place for God beyond the world, he does not cherish the idea that all is but the manifestation of God, he only strictly follows the principles of his philosophy of organism.

His philosophy advocates a co-relativity between organisms and the environment. He holds that nature is in process. It is a constant flow towards novelty. If we analyse the nature of an entity, we shall find that its 'form' has given it a 'duration' and an opportunity to fulfil the function of realisation of the whole universe from that standpoint. Every entity is thus an occasion for feeling or 'prehending' the universe. It is, thus, a creature. It is a creature in which the whole universe is focussed. It is focussing the universe from its standpoint. So, a creature is an organism having relation to the whole universe. This co-relativity between organism and the environment is due to what Whitehead calls 'creativity.' All passage is a passage towards novelty, a new march to a new form of realisation. The whole universe, on account of creativity, tends towards higher and higher forms of realisation. But realisation means an adapation to the environment, for it is the environment that appears in a new form. So in the passage creativity and novelty are united. Every realisation is a realisation through entities, creatures or organisms.

Creativity, being a passage towards novelty, reveals itself through continual creatures or what is known as 'concretion.' It, therefore, expresses a definite order of concretion. And every new concretion is a new form of adaptation. Whitehead says this principle of concreation is God. We are to suppose another principle which is the principle of anti-concretion. As every entity is a concretion, it is an attainment of success which Whitehead calls 'satisfaction.' So coming to concretion means an attainment of goodness, and the failure to attain it means evil. In the creative evolution, therefore, there is always a success or failure. The good and the evil go side by side. God and evil go together.

There is a constant adaptation in the universe. But this adaptation is not conscious adaptation. As every entity is 'bipolar,' and the evolution is towards the mental pole, the conscious adaptation comes in the case of human beings. According to Wieman, the acute awareness of the vast realm of possibilities, which point to higher and higher forms of adaptation is the basis of all our religions

conception. It is just performing the mission of creative evolution through organisms. It is the attainment of goodness. The mission of man is to attain the 'supreme good.' In order to attain it, he will have to adapt himself to the whole universe. The universe is driving towards a realm of unattainable possibilities. Man must aspire to attain that ideal. So adaptation involves an art of living. It is seeking to realise a higher form of life. The method is experimental, for the aim is to attain the 'maximum good.' Science and philosophy try to attain truth by means of concepts but religion points out a way of living, it is not merely theorising. Only when the philosophic theory becomes a way of living, it comes to occupy the position of religion. So religion is a very important consideration of our lives. It is an aspiration of the highest success in life. Religion is a great asset of human culture and civilisation. Religious aspiration is a groping into the unexplored possibilities of all being in order to win ultimate salvation and escape ultimate destruction.

In order to attain ultimate good, we have to adjust ourselves to the ultimate cause. We have to adopt experimental methods for selecting best stimuli to best forms of response. This is why we need religious experience. We are to correct and develop this religious experience. This can be done by creating varied interests in life, for the supreme good is fulfilment of the most inclusive interest, or the most inclusive system of interests.

As every concretion means a realisation, realisation reveals an order which is 'aesthetic order.' God, being the principle of concretion, can be found in the 'aesthetic order.' The conceptual and moral orders only point to partial fulfilments ; it is in the 'aesthetic order' that the principle of concretion has its fruition. The trend of the universe, from the standpoint of the aesthetic order, is towards the attainment of the good by destroying the evil. Every order indicates a triumph of the good, and a destruction of the evil. There is evil in the universe, but it exists as the parasite of the good. There cannot be a total evil. It exists only somewhere, but it cannot exist everywhere. It exists in every order which shows the triumph of the good. The philosophy of Whitehead can thus find a place for evil.

God, being the principle of concretion only, cannot be the totality of the universe. It involves a triumph over its opposite tendency, the evil. It only points towards the possibilities of realisation. This

realisation is ideal, and not actual. So the world cannot be the manifestation of God, who is but a principle. God is the principle of realisation of our ' aesthetic ideals ' in and through us. We can find him in our great march towards higher and higher forms of life. The triumph of religion lies in actualising the vast realm of possibilities, which is also the mission of God. Thus, we find that Whitehead, by his analysis of space and time, by his concept of creative process of nature, and by the abstract forms establishes that all being do have this principle of order, by virtue of which all enter into each other. There are different orders of prehension. There is a difference between a grain of sand and human mind, for the latter prehends all being more richly than the grain of sand. A man of high intelligence and culture, " who has absorbed the arts and sciences of his time to the utmost and inherited the fruits of history, focusses the universe more richly than a primitive savage. If again this cultured man is a lover of men, and so a prehender of prehenders, through love, absorbing the riches of all other minds, and if these other minds are also cultured and loving, we have the highest degree of prehension. In such a person, we have the divine order of concretion reaching the highest degree of actualisation in this existent world, so far as we have knowledge. The best man in the best society is the most concrete thing we can have in this world. He is most divine." (*The Wrestle of Religion with Truth*, p. 196.)

So we find that love is the best form of adjustment. It is the realisation of the divine order. It is thus the best form of adjustment to events. It is also the highest form of realisation of the philosophic truth. Here religion merges into philosophy, and philosophy into religion. Throughout the history of religion we find a great and passionate devotion to truth. If religion is to exist, it must have a devotion to truth. This is the need of philosophy in religion. Religion has a distinct place of its own which cannot be taken up by philosophy. The function of philosophy is to save religion from falling into irrationality and dogmatism. It saves religion from falling into illusions. It tells us "to apply our concepts, clarified and systematised, to the interaction between the organism and environment in order to control life in such ways as to achieve that wider use and fuller appreciation of the concrete wealth of experience which bear such names as social intercourse, love, beauty and mystic communion with God." (*Ibid.*, p. 253.)

From all these considerations about religion, we can justly conclude that Freud's criticism, from the standpoint of psychology, cannot touch the philosophy of religion. Our previous consideration will show that our religious ideas are not born of fear, but they are our aspirations for adjustments to the vast realm of possibilities, which holds in full reserve our realisations of ' aesthetic ideals.' This is the realisation of the true spirit of creative evolution. This is living a true divine life. This is the real adjustment to ' reality-principle,' which Freud left unexplained.

If we can point out that religion shows us the best way of living by developing love and culture—for therein lies the true and best form of adjustment to environment—then Freud's alleged criticism that religious ideas are illusions and, for that matter, the entire philosophy of religion is an illusion, cannot stand.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Bengal Literary Conference at Comilla

The All-Bengal Literary Conference, at which Professor Sunitikumar Chatterji is to preside, is fast approaching and it is expected the number of delegates will be quite large this year. The Maharaja of Tripura will open the Conference.

An Exhibition of the rare works of art and ancient literature and old documents will be held during the Conference. The Maharaja will lend the rare collections of the State for the exhibition.

Free Primary Education at Faridpur

Maulvi Moklasar Rahaman, Inspector of Schools, Faridpur, has commenced the survey of primary schools in the district as a preliminary to the introduction of free primary education.

Government of Bengal have made a grant of Rs. 1,07,140 to the Faridpur District School Board for the year 1938-39.

Driving out Illiteracy from Orissa

Amidst great enthusiasm an educational conference was inaugurated at Salepur by the Hon'ble Mr. Biswanath Das, the Premier. The Conference which was held to devise ways and means for making a first non-official attempt to drive out illiteracy from the province was attended by a large number of Primary School teachers, villagers and students.

Messages wishing the conference success from Mahatma Gandhi and others were read.

Addressing the teachers, the Premier said that they were real nation-builders who should keep before them the ideal of service and sacrifice. Mahatma Gandhi, he said, was the embodiment of sacrifice and he should be their ideal. He maintained that the primary teachers should not expect any great improvement in their economic condition in view of the poor finance left at the hands of the provincial Governments specially in Orissa.

He said that while the old bureaucratic Government wanted to control education so as to suit their own purposes, the present Government wanted to spread education so that it might benefit the community and the people. Since the assumption of office Government were contemplating measures to drive out illiteracy. Now they had come to the conclusion that this scourge should be fought in right earnest and library movement and village devolopment work should go side by side with the campaign against illiteracy.

Lucknow University

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Lucknow University has nominated the following gentlemen to be members of the Court of the Lucknow University for a period of three years:

Acharya Narendra Deo, M.L.A.; Rai Bahadur Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth; Principal, Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow; Raja Sir Muhammad Ejaz Rasul Khan of Jehangirabad; Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur; Dr. Zakir Hussain, Jamia Millia, Delhi.

Madras Educational Conference

The 30th Madras Provincial Educational Conference will be held in Madras on the 8th, 9th and 10th of May next. Mrs. Radhabai Subbaroyan, M.L.A. (Central) has consented to preside over the Conference.

It has also been decided to organise an Educational Exhibition along with the Conference with a view to demonstrating to the public how the work of the schools is being carried on, and also indicating clearly the many devices which teachers adopt in the class-room to make learning interesting and worthwhile. The exhibition will be on nursery schools, elementary education, secondary education, vocational education, and health education, arts and handicrafts, music, the present-day tendencies in education and the education of defectives.

The programme will also include discussions on topics of educational interest, excursions and variety entertainments. It is also proposed to arrange a symposium of elementary education and on adult education.

Annamalai University

The Hon'ble Mr. C. J. Varkey, Education Minister to the Government of Madras paid a visit to Annamalai University to study the situation in connexion with the expulsion of some students from the University. On his return to Madras Mr. Varkey issued a statement advising the students concerned to tender unconditional regret in writing to the University authorities with an assurance that they will not be guilty of such conduct again when he would request the latter to make a final examination of the question of re-admission of the students who have been sent out.

Sind Educational Quinquennial Review

An all-round increase, both in the number of girls under instruction in schools and colleges as well as in the number of institutions for imparting education, is the main feature of girls' education in Sind during the five-year period ending 1937. During the quinquennium, the total number of girls receiving education rose from 39,989 to 46,454, an increase of 19·1 per cent, while there were 386 schools exclusively for them in the year 1937, compared with 326 in 1932. A comparison of the figures also reveals that the advance made in the education of girls was much better than that in the case of boys, the percentage of increase in the case of the latter being only 4 as against 19·1 in the case of the former. 39,652 girls were reading in primary schools at the end of the quinquennium, the increase being 16·3 per cent over those figures for 1931-32. The system of co-education prevailed in the mofussil and was noticeable to some extent in towns also where there are separate schools for girls. Paucity of women teachers is stated to be the serious handicap for further advancement in learning and to remedy this defect, Government have sanctioned 100 scholarships for such girls as will serve in rural areas after passing their examinations.

An analysis of the number of Secondary schools and the girls studying in them at the commencement of the quinquennium and at the end of it, shows a decided increase, evidently showing that secondary education among girls is fast becoming popular.

Miscellany

PARETO'S MIND AND SOCIETY

Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) the Italian social philosopher's ideas have been dealt with several times in the *Calcutta Review* during the last twelve years. His *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* (Treatise of General Sociology), 1916, is now available in Arthur Livingston's English as *The Mind and Society* (four volumes, London, 1935).

A subject class, says Pareto, can easily overthrow a governing class that is governed by humanitarian sentiments. It is more difficult to overthrow a governing class that is skilled in the use of chicanery, fraud and corruption. And if the governing class is clever enough to assimilate the leaders of the subject class it becomes almost invincible, because then the subject class is rendered leaderless. But since not all the capable men of the subject class can be assimilated by the ruling class, small as it is, the subject class can still grow in power and consummate a revolution overthrowing the ruling class (Vol. IV, section 2179).

Popular representation is a fiction. Everywhere there is a governing class of relatively few individuals. This oligarchy maintains its power partly by force and partly by the consent of the subject class (Vol. IV, section 2244).

Political corruption is eternal and universal. It takes the form of bribery of voters, elected officials, government ministers, newspaper-owners and other such persons in democratic constitutions. Under systems of absolutism it consists in the bribery of courtiers, favourites, male and female, officials, generals and so on. These methods were as prevalent in Greece and Rome as they are in contemporary France, Italy, England and the U. S. A. Attempts to purify politics have been numberless but all have failed (Vol. IV, section 2257).

Such are some of the brutally sincere conclusions of Pareto's sociology which " without disparagement of any of these estimable sociologies "—metaphysical, positive, humanitarian (Comte, Spencer, De Greef, Letourneau)—is " purely experimental, after the fashion of chemistry, physics and other such sciences " (Vol. I, Section 6).

In Pareto's sociological analysis the scientific world has got a powerful corrective to the much too facilely accepted roseate view of the human nature. No sociology can be real and adequate which ignores the knaves and scoundrels of the world in its study and is obsessed by the saints and sages. The social reality is brought out prominently in the Paretian investigations. They are based on the fundamental proposition that the human *psyche* is the field for the tug-of-war between the Devil and the Divinity. The *dvandvas* or conflicts constitute the eternal make-up of the mental and moral personality. The rôle of the irrational is no less constructive than that of reason. In Pareto one may, therefore, easily discover the dictum of the Hindu Manu who observed that *durlabho hi suchirnarah* (rare is the man that is good by nature).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

The chief exponent of the sociology of knowledge, the youngest branch of sociology, is Karl Mannheim. His *Ideologie und Utopie* (Bonn) was published in 1929, and article on *Wissenssoziologie* (The Sociology of Knowledge or Ideas) in the *Handwoerterbuch der Soziologie*, ed. by Alfred Verkandt (Stuttgart, 1931). These contributions are available in Louis Wirth's English translation as *Ideology and Utopia*: *An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York, 1936).

The sociology of knowledge analyses the social perspectives of a thinker and traces his ideas to the determining conditions in the social complex. Mannheim examines how thinking really functions in public life and in politics as an instrument of collective action. The relationship between social theory and political practice is the chief topic of Mannheim's investigation. The *Gestalt* of liberalism, humanism, conservatism, socialism and communism have been placed in the sociological background.

Ideas transcending the existing order are of two kinds: (1) ideological and (2) utopian. Ideological ideas do not offer revolutionary possibilities while the utopian ideas do. Ideology is organically and harmoniously related to the existing world-view. It serves to stabilize a social order. The utopia is on the contrary a wish-image or wish-dream which seeks to transform the existing society. Both these ideas are to be found in every period.

In so far as Pareto's second residue,—the residue of group-persistence, is statical and promotes inertia it may be associated with Mannheim's "ideology." His "utopia" can then be linked up with the first residue of Pareto, namely, the residue of combination, which is the active, creative or innovative element in social dynamics.

The common factor in Leninism and Fascism is to be found, according to Mannheim, in the activity of aggressive minorities. These active groups are, however, conscious that they are rational embodiments of an historical process destined to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Fascism, on the other hand although the cult of an aggressive minority, is a-historical. It is not interested in a "process" and in the structural intelligibility of history. The irrationalist philosophies of Bergson, Sorel and Pareto are its feeders. According to fascism the essence of politics is to grapple with the demands of the hour. It apotheosises direct action and glorifies the decisive deed.

Socialism agrees with liberalism in believing that freedom and equality will be realized in some remote future. This future is placed by socialism at a determined point of time (period of the breakdown of capitalist culture). The conservatists' acceptance of the *status quo* is hated by both and both reject likewise the chiliastic excitements and ecstatic energies.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

VIVEKANANDA, KANT AND MODERN MATERIALISM

In the remaking of India, Vivekananda's spirit of defiance against Western chauvinism has had a conspicuous place. It has to be recalled that he died in 1902, three years before Young India was born in the glorious Bengali revolution of 1905. The manhood, energism and self-determination that characterized the first boycott of British goods which was declared in that revolution were spiritually linked up with the "*Mother, make me Man*"

messages of Vivekananda. He paved the way for the ideas of 1905 and was thus in a general manner a Rousseau of the Bengali revolution.

Vivekananda's contributions to the remaking of India are to be found in economic fields as well. It is clear that he was neither a professional philosopher of politics nor a professional economist. His politics and economics are all to be found in his social philosophy. And in this domain we encounter Vivekananda as the messenger of modern materialism. It is possible to establish here an equation between Vivekananda and Immanuel Kant. The equation is to be understood, however, not in the contents, form and style of writings but in the fundamental messages. What Kant did for Eur-America towards the end of the eighteenth century was accomplished for India towards the end of the nineteenth by Vivekananda. Kant is the father of modern materialism for the West. Vivekananda is the father of modern materialism for India. They are two of the greatest saviours of mankind. It is to them that the world is indebted for the charters of dignity for Nature, matter, material science and material welfare.

Previous to Kant people in Eur-America under the influence of Christianity, and especially of the Catholic Church had been used to looking upon life on earth as something to be ashamed of. Even Protestantism could not substantially change the mentality. The next world, the other-worldly interests, the supra-mundane thoughts had been considered to be the only glorious things. But in the mean time the experimental sciences, the laws of Nature or matter had begun to make their appearance. Their truths could not be denied by honest intellectuals. It was Kant who for the first time had the courage to declare in so many words that Nature, matter, the earthly world were no less glorious than man, the person, the inner world. The laws of Nature were as immutable and absolute, said he, as the laws of the human spirit. It is on this Kantian recognition of the equal dignity of the two worlds that the knowledge of Nature, investigations into the natural sciences, researches in material interests have been able to grow in the same unhampered manner as researches into the inner world, the sphere of moral personality.

The situation in India was parallel to that in Europe. The dignity of Nature had been denied to the exclusive recognition of the dignity of spirit, if not in practical life, at any rate in the dominant philosophical schools. This obsession by the affairs of the spirit, although confined to the academic world, engendered an intellectual and moral hypocrisy among the men and women used as they are to the ordinary family life, arts and crafts, commercial and social pursuits. In order to profess their reverence for things of the spirit they got into the habit of declaring, in any case, verbally, their alleged apathy and indifference to the most intimate concerns of their daily life. Among intellectuals those who studied the *Sankhya* system of philosophy were looked down upon as materialists because they were researchers into *Prakriti* (Nature). The princes among philosophers were considered to be those who specialized in the topics of the soul, *e.g.*, the students of *Vedanta*. India like Europe was therefore in need of a man who could say with all the honesty he could command that *Prakriti* was no less sacred than *Purusha* (Man) and that the pursuit of material sciences and material prosperity was as godly as that of the sciences and activities bearing on the soul.

This man is Vivekananda, who although predominantly an exponent of the soul-philosophy, of Vedantic communion with or realization of God, has been the loudest exponent of physical vigour, football, material welfare and commercial developments. The *swadeshi* (indigenous industry)

movement associated with the Bengali revolution of 1905 has therefore found in Vivekadanda's gospel of modern materialism, *i.e.*, assimilation of Sankhyan nature-study with Vedantic soul-research, a most appropriate philosophical *milieu* for its industrialism and technocracy, scientific research and economic energism. The muscles and nerves,—the flesh and blood,—furnished by Vivekananda have served to save the soul of Young India and enabled it to go on prospering and to prosper in the two domains of Nature and the spirit.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

PRE-RELIGION AND PRE-LOGIC

In Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's *La Mythologie Primitive* (Paris, 1935) [1] is developed the theory of "pre-religion" which is alleged to be the characteristic of primitive peoples. Lévy-Bruhl here carries forward to the farthest logical consequences the doctrine of "pre-logic" already established by him in *La Mentalité Primitive* (1925).

But the position which maintains a radical distinction between the "primitives" and the alleged civilized in rationality and religiosity is open to fundamental objections. No matter how these two categories be defined, their presence is to be attributed to the so-called primitive manners and customs, arts and crafts. On the other hand, irrationality (or pre-rationality) and pre-religiosity (or a-religiosity) are not the features exclusively of the primitives. They are quite in evidence among the civilized of all epochs including the hyper-civilized of to-day. The universal existence of irrational elements in the human *psyche* as analyzed by Pareto in *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* (1916) is well calculated to counteract the idea of Levy-Bruhl that pre-logic is the *differentium* between the primitive and the civilized.

Lévy-Bruhl's idea has therefore been combated by Bouglé who in his *Evolution des Valeurs* (Paris, 1929) maintains the co-existence of the rational and irrational in the same mind. The anthropological data in W. Schmidt's *Origin and Growth of Religion* (London, 1935) and J. G. Frazer's *Psyche's Task* (London, 1913) are likewise strong enough to combat the thesis of Lévy-Bruhl. In Raoul Allier's *Le Noncivilisé et nous* (The Uncivilized and We), Paris, 1928, we are furnished with fresh evidences against it.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PERSONALISM

A philosophical movement has been inaugurated in Paris in 1930 by Emmanuel Mounier with the journal entitled *Esprit* (The Spirit). The chief topic is *personnalisme*. This philosophy of personalism is described by Charles Baudoin (Geneva) as having been inspired by the ideas of Charles Renouvier (1815-1903), the French philosopher, who is the direct inheritor of Kant in regard to his doctrine of the person as in regard to other doctrines. Renouvier's *Personnalisme* (1903) announces the eminent dignity of

[1] See B. K. Sarkar: "Religious Categories as Universal Expressions of Creative Personality" (*The Religions of the World*, Vol. I, 1937, pp. 191-217, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta).

the person along Kantian lines although somewhat modified as a result of the author's own evolution.

The influence of Renouvier in contemporary French thought is analyzed by Baudoin in " La Philosophie Politique de Charles Renouvier " and " Quelgues Aspects nouveaux du problème de la Personne." published in the *Revue Philosophique* (Paris) for March-April, 1935 and November-December, 1938.

In another form this philosophical viewpoint is expressed by Hocking in his *Man and the State* (New Haven, 1926). According to him the individual man becomes the apparent unit of political fabric. "The intermediate associations become conveniences, not essentials. They may come and go; he remains."

While in the atmosphere of this philosophical movement it is worth while to observe that in sociology also an allied movement is on in France which may be described as anti-Durkheimian. The *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris), July, 1935, brings into bold relief the work of Gaston Richard (Bordeaux), who by his *Sociologie et Métaphysique* (Paris, 1911) and *La Sociologie Générale et les Lois Sociologique* (Paris, 1912) took the stand that the individual is not tyranically determined by the society, as Durkheim believes. The *élan vital* of Bergson or the *impulsion vitale* of Espinas is more in accord with Richard's interpretation of the individual *vis-à-vis* the society. In Lasbax's *La Cité Humaine* (Paris, 1927), the creative individual administers *la médecine sociale* and awakens the *renaissance de l'ésprit.* Lasbax emphasises the *initiatives du vouloir* as against the *contrainte* (force) and social determinism. Both Richard and Lasbax may indeed be described as neo-Kantian under the influence of Renouvier.

According to Emmanuel Mounier (*Revolution personaliste e communautaire*, Paris, 1935), the rule of the anonymous and the impersonal obtains in the modern world. It has become too common place to describe it as devoid of spirituality. It is equally just to describe it as being devoid of " cernality " (in the good sense), *i.e.*, density or physical substance. Mounier wants *le sense charnel du monde*, the physical or objective sense of the world, the *compagnognage avec les choses* or companionship with the things. The empty purity of the idealists is as much to be abandoned as the abandon of the realists to the instinct. The spirit is to be filled with the *presences*. The modern world is lacking profoundly in the presences. When Mounier thinks of the community it is not an amorphous mass of anonymous and empty individuals that he has in view. Such masses indeed are often called societies in modern times. Then, again, an abstract and juridical sum of individual units is not a community in Mounier's sense. His community is an organism of " persons," *i.e.*, of individuals impregnated with presence.

A person appears when we are *present* in ourselves when we do not accept the condition of losing ourselves in a masquerade and anonymity. " My person," says Mounier, " is not my personality. It is above this personality, a super-conscious and super-temporal something, a given unity, vaster than the views I hold of it. It is a presence in me." This notion of the person is to be sharply distinguished from that of the individual, juridically or romantically considered. The individual is considered to be the diffusion of the person at the surface of his life and his pleasures to lose himself. From the standpoint of Mounier individualism is not personalism proper. It is a misunderstood and degenerated personalism. The distinc-

tion between the person and the individual is somewhat like that established by Kant between the *noumenal* self and the *phenomenal* self. Indeed, Renouvier, the founder of modern personalism, based his ideas on the Kantian duality of the *real* self and the *apparent* self.[1]

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE ROMANTICISM OF LEOPARDI

Lecturing at Bengali Dante Society, Calcutta, Professor Giuseppe Tucci of Rome observed that romanticism was not so effective in Italy as in Germany, England and France. It was the land of classicism, which means equilibrium, and this prevented romanticism from completely subjugating the Italian soil. According to Tucci sadness is certainly a feature of Leopardi's poems but there is no sentimentalism in this sadness. He did not enjoy, as it were, the spectacle of his own misery nor did he take delight in his tears.

We are told that there is enough material for philosophical systems in Leopardi's *Pensieri* (Thoughts). He did not accept tradition. He looked at the universe with his own eyes. Where others found order, harmony, God he found caprice, a blind will which transcends and opposes human power. In his unparallelled poem, *The Infinite*, we encounter almost the Buddhist doctrine of *sunyatā* which says that everything is void, meaningless and a tremendous illusion.

Leopardi's love of nature and feeling of kinship with it are extraordinary. In the *Sabato del Villaggio* (Saturday of Village), *Alla Luna* (To the Moon), *Le Ricordanze* (Souvenirs) and such other pieces he forgets often to be a man and dreams as being a fragment of Nature. But he was too much of an Occidental to merge himself in Nature as an Oriental easily could.

Pessimism was a striking note in Leopardi's poetry. In the *Canto del Pastore nell'Asia* (The Song of the Shepherd in Asia) Leopardi asserted that unhappiness was not the result of human relations but that it was in the order of nature itself. Man considered himself to be the master of the universe but was in reality but the dream of a shadow. Such pessimistic strands constituted the chief features of Leopardi's poetry.

Death plays as considerable a rôle in the poetry of Leopardi as in that of Michelangelo the sculptor and the painter. Michelangelo, however, got consolation through religion. But Leopardi had no illusions. To him death was the gate of nothingness. In his conception life served no purpose whatsoever.

Tucci concluded as follows:

"Altogether, the poems of Leopardi echoed the universal despair of man whose only certainty is that he will die. Whenever and wherever a man goes beyond the appearances of life and has a glimpse of reality Leopardi will certainly be his poet."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

[1] C. Baudoin: *Quelques Aspects mouveaux du problème de la Personne* in the *Revue Philosophique* (Paris), November-December, 1938.

INDIAN STUDIES IN ITALIAN CULTURE

It is possible to refer to the stray Italian items in Bengali thought from Rammohun to Sarat Chatterjee, as in Indian thought in other languages. But, on the whole, Italian, French, German or other Continental and American as well as Japanese culture has remained almost unexplored by Indian intellectuals, whether literary and philosophical or scientific. One or two features of our contemporary scholarship and thought may be mentioned in this connection. Since the glorious *swadeshi* movement of 1905 Indian scholars have been devoting the greater part of their researches, first, on the exact sciences, and secondly, on ancient Indian history and culture. Indian publications on modern history or the cultural developments of non-Indian countries as well as on philosophy strictly so called are yet almost unknown. But Indian intellectuals are getting conscious about their shortcomings as writers in philosophy, economics, literary and art criticism, sociology, history, geography and other modern sciences. At this stage the attention of Indian scholars ought to be drawn to the importance of original investigations and publications about Italian malariology, agricultural improvements, industrialization, criminology, social services, foreign trade and other branches of life and thought.

The newspapers and monthly reviews of India have, however, been enriching the Indian academic world with news and reports about Italian developments in culture, economics and politics although very often in an one-sided and superficial manner. Nevertheless the Indian journals are in this respect to be appreciated as real allies of the Universities. Perhaps the spade-work that is being done by the journals in the fields of contemporary history, politics, economics, philosophy, literature, fine arts and so forth will serve in the near future to form the foundations of researches into the modern world by the University men and other academicians.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Brahmananda Keshav—Life and Works, Part I, 1838—1866, pp. 1-217. By Premsundar Basu. Price -/12 (twelve annas only). 1937.

The volume under notice is included in the Harisundar Memorial Series and tells the story of Keshav's life up to 1866. It follows a novel plan, seeking to combine biographical material with the writings of the subject of the biography, the former being treated as so much cement while the words of Keshav serve as mortar. The quantity of cement is proportionately small, and it remains to be seen how long the construction will stand and hold together. The biographer-editor interferes as little as possible with the story, the continuity of which is not broken by the intrusion of the written word, about which, it is comforting to find, no liberties have been taken. The student of Carlyle will appreciate Keshav's address on Great Men, and the organisation power, the religious enthusiasm and the passionate drive that stirred Keshav to activity have been well brought out in the published text.

The author deserves to be congratulated if he can keep up his plan and finish the second part in the handy fashion with which he has managed the first. Till then his success will remain only a matter for speculation, faced as he will be with the great schism that split up the Samaj and that only recently has shown a tendency to heal up.

All things considered, it is a book that should inspire not only the admirers of Keshav but also the students of nineteenth century India, and the smallness of the price should make it easily accessible.

P. R. Sen

The Common Indian Plants—By Chandra Chakraberty (Vijaya Krishna Brothers), pp. 102. Price One rupee.

The book gives an account mainly of the distribution, medicinal importance and food value of a few of the common Indian plants. The arrangement of the matter leaves much to be desired, and it appears that the author is not aware of any economic classification of plants. For instance, under vegetables *Leucus cephalotes* and *Leucus aspera* have been included, and under spices, *Saccharum arundinaceum*, *S. indicum*, *Nicotiana tabacum*, *Canabis sativa*, *Swertia* and other plants have been included. In the last section of the book fibre plants, oil-yielding plants, and mostly medicinal plants, have all been included together. These should have been treated under separate heads.

Apart from the faulty arrangement the book also suffers from other defects. It does not give a list of the plants described, nor any reference to literature. Besides, the names of the plants have mostly been mis-spelt, and in certain instances some obsolete names have been given. These mistakes are too numerous to be mentioned and give the impression that the book is merely a compilation work of a non-botanist.

I. B.

Vitoria and the Conquest of America (Second edition)—By Honorio Munoz, O. P. (Letran College, Manila, Philippine Islands). 1938. University of Santo Tomas Press: Manila, P. I. 220 pp.

Francisco de Vitoria, Prima Professor of Theology at Salamanca in the sixteenth century, was one of the founders of International Law. He was one of the predecessors of Grotius in the field of international law, and Grotius himself acknowledged his indebtedness to him for some of the fundamental principles upon which he built his treatise *On the Law of War and Peace*. Vitoria's claim as a founder of the Law of Nations was based upon his two *Relectiones* (Readings) entitled De Indis Noviter Inventis (On the Indians Recently Discovered) and De Jure Belli (On the Law of War). In 1917 the Carnegie Institution of Washington published, in the "Classics of International Law," a volume containing the texts and English translations of those two tractates together with the English translation of the Introduction by Professor Ernest Nys, the distinguished Belgian publicist. Prior to the publication of that volume there was no book in English from which could be obtained a detailed account of Vitoria's writings dealing with the principles of International Law. For their knowledge of Vitoria's Law of Nations students of International Law in the English-speaking world were to rely upon short summaries and appreciative references to be found in the works of some English and American authors. In 1934 there appeared the first volume of Dr. James Brown Scott's treatise on The Spanish Origin of International Law, a study of Francisco de Vitoria and his Law of Nations. In that book Dr. Scott analysed, in a masterly and penetrating manner, the principles of International Law expounded by Vitoria in his two Readings, and emphasised their practical importanee at the present time. Later on in the same year Dr. Scott published another book "The Catholic Conception of International Law" which contained a critical discussion of Vitoria's Law of Nations.

In the volume under review the author seeks to give an analysis, in a popular form, of Vitoria's Law of Nations as contained in his disquisition *De Indis*. The book is divided into three parts. The first part is introductory and consists of two chapters. In the first chapter the author gives a biographical sketch of Vitoria. The second chapter is devoted to an examination and appreciation of Vitoria's services to International Law, and a discussion of the basic principles of the Law of Nations propounded by him in his *De Indis*. In the opinion of our author, "Vitoria in expressing what was right and wrong in the dealings of the Spaniards with the Indians established the basis for the new science of International Law." In the second part consisting of seven chapters the author gives a clear exposition of the arguments used by Vitoria for refuting various theories advanced by different classes of writers in justification of the Spanish sovereignty over the aboriginal people of the conquered territory. The third part which comprises the remaining eight chapters treats of the legitimate titles by which, according to Vitoria, the American Indians might be placed under the sovereignty of Spain. At the end of the book there is a five-page bibliography and an alphabetical index.

The book is written in a style which is simple and readable. The idea of reconstructing International Law on an ethical basis is now in the air; the appearance of this book dealing with the writings of the great Spaniard who stands for moral sanction in International Law is, therefore, welcome. The present volume needs to be read together with the author's earlier work *Vitoria and War*. Taken together these two volumes will be specially

useful to the average student who may not find Dr. Scott's more scholarly and profound works on Vitoria quite interesting. We share the desire of the author, which he has expressed at the end of his preface, that his "two books may continue to spread the Vitorian principles of Christian charity and justice throughout the thorny borders of Christian and pagan nations alike at present on the brink of chaos."

S. C. CHAKRABARTI.

Co-operation in India:—By C. F. Strickland, I. C. S. (Retired). Oxford University Press, 1938. Third Edition, pp. 112. Price Re. 1-8.

In the third edition of this well known book several chapters have been rewritten and the material brought up to date. A brief survey of the evils of capitalism and a discussion of the co-operative solution for the betterment of the world prepare the reader for a résumé of the co-operative movement in Europe and Asia. The Indian movement is then described in broad outline, and emphasis laid on recent developments in the country, such as those connected with land mortgage banking, the working of debt conciliation boards and the development of sale societies. Reformers in this country who have been urging the inauguration of multi-purpose societies as the one panacea for the ills of co-operation will read with profit the author's remarks (pages 106-7) on such schemes.

One can confidently recommend this little book to students as an introductory and authoritative exposition of the principles and problems of co-operation.

J. P. NIYOGI.

Ourselves

[I. Vice-Chancellor on the Organisation of Islamic Studies.—II. Nahar Collection Presented to the University.—III. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary Medal for 1939.—IV. Proposed College of Pharmacy in Calcutta.—V. International Historical Congress.—VI. Octogenary of Professor Milioukov.—VII. Professor H. C. Mookerjee.—VIII. Appointment of Professor of Anthropology.—IX. Representatives on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca—X. Rampran Gupta Prize Committee.—XI. Mokshada Sundari Gold Medal.—XII. Nagendranandini De Gold Medal.—XIII. Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures for 1938.—XIV. British Association for Advancement of Science, London.—XV. Animal Breeding and Genetics Congresses.—XVI. Readership Lectures on Comparative Philology.—XVII. Bengali (Honours) in Scottish Church College.—XVIII. B. Com. Classes in the City College.—XIX. South Calcutta Girls' College.—XX. Brindaban College, Habiganj.—XXI. Feni College.—XXII. Anandamohan College, Mymensingh.—XXIII. Indian Historical Congress.—XXIV. Inter-University Cricket Match.—XXV. Mouat Medal.—XXVI. Hostel for Girls.]

I. Vice-Chancellor on the Organisation of Islamic Studies

Our Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Mr. M. Aziz-ul Huque, has prepared a note on the Organisation of Islamic Studies in this University. The Syndicate has appointed a Committee to consider the proposals contained therein. It has been stated in the note that as a result of the spread of higher education among Muslims in this province, a keen want has been felt for extension of the scope afforded by the University for their intellectual and academic activities. No constructive suggestion has been so far offered by men who have seen and criticised this defect in the University. Muslim students, the Vice-Chancellor's note asserts, should imbibe progressive scientific ideas and with them, the creative thoughts in Islam, never allowing themselves to forget that they belong to Bengal and to India. There are many different streams feeding India's cultural life and the scope of an Indian University should include a critical study of all of them. Arabic and Persian, the Vice-Chancellor points out, do not exhaust Islamic studies. There is a vast empire of knowledge extending beyond them. To engage in this study would undoubtedly ensure the growth of harmony and peace, removing hostility and conflict which arise from misunderstanding.

The Vice-Chancellor refers incidentally to the notable contributions made in the field of ancient Indian History by Indian scholars. A scheme is outlined in the note for the organisation of a

Department of Islamic Studies in the University as distinct from the Department of Arabic and Persian It will be devoted to the study of Islamic philosophy and culture with an well-equipped library for research. There will be a Translation Bureau attached to it for translating recognised works either into English or Bengali. Substantial prizes will be awarded to encourage research in the subject.

Islamic studies, the Vice-Chancellor suggests, should be introduced as one of the subjects to be offered at the Matriculation, Intermediate, B.A., and M.A. examinations.

The next proposal made by the Vice-Chancellor is to organise a Muslim Advisory Board to advise the University on all matters affecting the academic and religious interests of Muslim students. This proposal was, it is pointed out, offered by the Sadler Commission in the shape of a recommendation.

The Vice-Chancellor remarks on the extremely poor admission of Muslims to Science classes and suggests the award of stipends and scholarships to Muslim students to stimulate their interest in the study of the Sciences.

The next proposal is about the Hostel arrangements for Post-Graduate Muslim students. The Carmichael Hostel being inadequate for accommodation of Muslim students, a hostel should be built for the purpose, the approximate cost of which will be 2½ lacs of rupees.

The last proposal contained in the Vice-Chancellor's note relates to the introduction of Urdu as a Second Language for the Intermediate examination, which will greatly facilitate the study of the subject.

* * *

II. Nahar Collection Presented to the University

Mr. Bejoy Singh Nahar has conveyed an offer of the Nahar Collection of Indian Paintings, Sculptures, Terracottas, Bronzes and other objects of historical interest to the Asutosh Museum of this University. This valuable collection was made by the late Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L., the donor's father, after whom it is to be styled in accordance with the wishes of the donor, who has further desired that a Post-Graduate Fellowship attached to the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture should be maintained in his father's name with a view to encouraging studies in Jainism. The Collection

would be accessible to members of the donor's family and to all *bona fide* students, scholars and others interested in India's past. The approximate value of the collection is Rs. 40,000.

The offer has been accepted with thanks.

* * *

III. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary Medal for 1939

Sir Prafullachandra Ray, KT., C.I.E., D.SC., PH.D., F.C.S., F.R.A.S.B. was awarded the Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary Medal for the year 1939.

* * *

IV. Proposed College of Pharmacy in Calcutta

The Government of Bengal have appointed a special committee to consider the question of establishing a College of Pharmacy in Calcutta to impart training to Pharmacists and Pharmaceutical Chemists. The first meeting of this Committee was held last February at which Sir U. N. Brahmachari pointed out that the University had, at a meeting of the Syndicate held in August, 1934, discussed the proposal for organising a course in Pharmaceutical Chemistry leading to a University degree. Colonel R. N. Chopra, the President of the Committee, has in this connection placed his views before the University in the form of a statement.

The Secretary of the Committee has obtained permission from the University to secure copies of all the documents that may be of help in connection with the establishment of the proposed College.

* * *

V. International Historical Congress

The University, in giving its opinion regarding the formation of a National Committee for India to take part in the International Historical Congress, has suggested that the universities in India should enlist themselves as members of this Committee and has promised to extend to it its full co-operation if the Committee is established in Calcutta.

* * *

VI. Octogenary of Professor Milioukov

The University has sent its good wishes on the occasion of the eightieth birthday celebration of the eminent Russian historian, Paul Milioukov, formerly of the University of Moscow, who had acted also as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Russian Provisional Government.

* * *

VII. Professor H. C. Mookerjee

Professor H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A., Head of the Department of English, and Secretary, Calcutta Review, has been re-appointed University Professor of English for the period of one year only with effect from the 1st July, 1939.

We offer our congratulations to Dr. Mookerjee who is our esteemed colleague on the editorial Board of the *Review*.

* * *

VIII. Appointment of Professor of Anthropology

Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyay, M.SC. (Cantab.), who was a whole-time Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology, has been appointed Professor of Anthropology with effect from the 1st May, 1939.

* * *

IX. Representatives on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., and Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., have been appointed representatives of the University on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca, for the year 1939-40.

* * *

X. Rampran Gupta Prize Committee

Professor Surendranath Sen, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT. (Oxon.), has been appointed a representative of the University on the Special Committee organised at the instance of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad to consider the award of the Rampran Gupta Prize in Historical Researches in Bengali.

* * *

XI. Mokshada Sundari Gold Medal

Srimati Kamala Debi, B.A., has been awarded the Mokshada Sundari Gold Medal for 1939. She submitted an essay on "Bankim Chandra Chatterjee" which was adjudged worthy of the award by her examiners.

The award was made in favour of Srimati Kamala Debi for the second time this year.

* * *

XII. Nagendranandini De Gold Medal

Mrs. Nihar Dasgupta, B.A., has been awarded the Nagendranandini De Gold Medal for 1938. She won the medal by an essay on "Grihinir Kartavya" which was highly commended by her examiners.

Mrs. Dasgupta is the first recipient of this Medal.

* * *

XIII. Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures for 1938

Mr. C. C. Dutt, B.A., I.C.S. (Retd.), has requested the University to arrange for the delivery of Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures by him either in April or July this year. The matter has been left to Mr. Dutt and an announcement of the dates would be made as soon as they are fixed by him.

* * *

XIV. British Association for Advancement of Science, London

Mr. Girijaprasanna Majumdar, M.SC., has been appointed a representative of this University to attend the meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, London, which will be held at Dundee in August and September this year.

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XV. Animal Breeding and Genetics Congresses

Mr. Girijaprasanna Majumdar, M.SC., has been appointed a delegate to represent this University on the Fourth International Congress on Animal Breeding to be held in Zurich in August, 1939, as

well as on the Seventh International Congress of Genetics to be held in Edinburgh the same month.

* * *

XVI. Readership Lectures on Comparative Philology

Dr. Otto Hermann Strauss has been appointed a special Reader to deliver a course of lectures on Comparative Philology in this University.

* * *

XVII. Bengali Honours in Scottish Church College

The Scottish Church College has been granted affiliation in Bengali to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the next session.

* * *

XVIII. B. Com. Classes in the City College

The City College, Calcutta, has been granted affiliation to the B. Com. standard in the following subjects with permission to hold the Commerce classes in the evening with effect from the opening of the next session (1939-40):—Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, French and German; Accountancy, Commercial Law, General Economics and Indian Economics, Business Organisation and Commercial Geography, Advanced Accountancy and Auditing, Trade and Tariff and Transport, Banking and Currency, Statistics and Insurance, Public Administration and Public Finance, Economic History and Modern Industrial Organisation.

* * *

XIX. The South Calcutta Girls' College

The South Calcutta Girls' College has been affiliated to the University in the following subjects to the I.A. standard with effect from the next session (1939-40):—English, Bengali (Compulsory), Sanskrit, Bengali (Second Language), Logic, Civics, History, Mathematics, Botany and Geography.

* * *

XX. Brindaban College, Habiganj

The Brindaban College, Habiganj, has been granted affiliation in the following subjects to the B.A. Pass standard in addition to those it is already teaching:—English, Bengali (Compulsory), Mathematics, Philosophy, Economics, History, Sanskrit and Persian. The permission will be in force from the opening of the next session (1939-40).

* * *

XXI. Feni College

The Feni College has received affiliation in Sanskrit to the B.A. Honours standard in addition to the subjects it is already teaching with effect from the next session.

* * *

XXII. Anandamohan College, Mymensingh

The Anandamohan College has been granted affiliation in the following subjects, extending the scope of its present teaching arrangements. From the next session the college is authorised to teach Physics and Chemistry to the B.Sc. Pass and Mathematics to the B.Sc. Pass and Honours standards.

* * *

XXIII. Indian Historical Congress

The next session of the Historical Congress will be held in Calcutta in November this year. Professors H. C. Raychaudhuri and S. N. Sen have been appointed Honorary Local Secretaries to the Congress.

The University has recommended that the sum of Rs. 750 be kept apart to meet the expenses of the Congress.

* * *

XXIV Inter-University Cricket Match

A Cricket Match is being organised between Indian Universities and the M. C. C. It will come off next October at Lahore and will be under the control of the Cricket Board of India.

Our University has recommended a sum of Rs. 500 towards the expenses of the match.

* * *

XXV. Mouat Medal

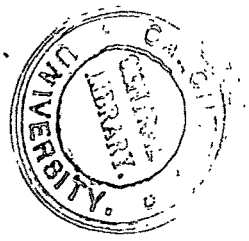
Mr. Miuendranath Basu, M.A., having brought his research work to a successful conclusion under the guidance of Rai Bahadur Saratchandra Ray, M.A., B.L., will be awarded a Mouat Medal at the next Convocation.

* * *

XXVI. Hostel for Girls

Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj and ten other ladies have made a representation to this University on behalf of the All-India Women's Conference urging the authorities to organise suitable hostel arrangements for girls studying in Calcutta away from their parents. They have expressed their dissatisfaction with the existing arrangements and have offered the following proposals for the consideration of the University:—No girls will be admitted to a college if they are not staying with near relations or in a hostel under its control. Each college may re-organise one or more hostels existing in its vicinty for accommodation of girl students. No girl will be permitted to take an examination unless she can produce a certificate from the Principal of her college showing that she has fulfilled the required condition. Co-educational institutions should be limited. A capable woman superintendent of hostels should be appointed who should work with the assistance of a small advisory committee.

The proposal has been referred to a Committee.



THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1939

EXCISE POLICY OF NON-CONGRESS BENGAL *

DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH. D.

Head of the Department of English and Fellow, Calcutta University, Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal, President, All India Conference of Indian Christians.

AN authoritative pronouncement on the excise policy of the Government of Bengal was made by members of the present Cabinet in the first budget discussions on the 4th September, 1937, when there was a debate on the demand under the head "grant for excise."

Our Finance Minister who took part in the debate observed: "It is not right on the part of the Government to be a party to organise temptation for weak-willed people which leads them into the path of ruin and destitution. The question of revenue must be subordinated to the question of prohibition." He emphasised the fact that without "long and careful preparation" success cannot be looked for, and concluded by saying that in Bengal drunkenness is "not so acute as in the other provinces."

Our Excise Minister in his concluding remarks stated that the "total consumption is steadily going down in Bengal" and went on to

* Delivered at the Holland Hall, Allahabad University, on the 17th March, 1939, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the chair.

say that Government "have done and has been doing everything to fight against drunkenness and intemperance."

On another occasion replying to an interpellation put by me regarding the increase in the consumption of country spirits, the Excise Minister stated that Government are "already discouraging the use of country liquor by the adoption of three rules." These are restriction of sale, reduction in the number of shops and high price of liquor.

These in brief may be said to constitute the excise policy of our province. I propose to put before you certain facts to enable you to judge to what extent this policy has been given effect to in the administration of this particular department in Bengal.

"Long and Careful Preparation" for Prohibition

Taking the arguments one by one, so far as the "long and careful preparation" referred to by the Finance Minister of Bengal is concerned, we find that if the Government communiques, issued by the different Congress Ministries where prohibition has been introduced, are to be trusted, then this step has long been passed the stage of experiment and that there neither "long" nor "careful" preparation was found necessary. At any rate, the preparations were finished within a few months and even if they were neither "long" nor "careful," they had the virtue of being eminently successful than which nothing more is wanted. As a Bengali, I am not prepared to admit that my countrymen as compared with the citizens of other provinces are so very backward that what has been achieved by them in a year or a year and half cannot be achieved by my brothers in my native province within the same time.

"Not So Drunk" Argument

The argument of the Finance Minister that because the problem of drunkenness is not very acute in Bengal, it is not necessary to introduce prohibition immediately carries along with it the implication that the problem ought to be tackled only when drunkenness has reached certain proportions. When we reach this stage, which God forbid, what guarantee is there that some one will not then come forward with the plea that the difficulties which stand in the way of enforcing

prohibition are so many and so great, that it is bound to end in failure?

The greatest menace of intemperance to-day is the conviction that it is no menace at all. Its growth in a country is always so insidious that its detection is delayed till civilized life itself is threatened by its excess. The unfortunate position in which the countries of the West now find themselves has been due to their neglect of this most vital problem. This is proved by what has happened in two English-speaking countries both remarkable for their high educational, technical and economic standards. In England, the Drink Bill in 1936 was 246 million and in 1937 259 million pounds, there bring an increase of 13 million pounds in one year. As compared with 1932, in 1937 convictions for drunkenness rose by 55 per cent. In the industrial town of Birmingham, the profits of manufacturers of beer which was 16 million in 1933 rose to 22 million in 1937 only because industrial labour on account of its poverty consumed very large amounts of beer, the so-called beverage of low alcohol content. In the U. S. A. in 1933, alcoholic beverages worth 350 million dollars were sold whereas in 1937 the cost was 5,000 million dollars. Here again the increase which was fourteen times in five years was due to the sale of beer to the poor.

Madras has been notorious for the drinking habits of some of its people and yet the situation there was boldly faced and prohibition introduced. I contend that no true patriot will wait till such time that the situation in our province reaches this stage. I shall prove to you presently that the habitual use of intoxicants is spreading very rapidly in Bengal. If we are at all desirous of saving our masses from the evils of drinking, we must adopt immediate and vigorous steps to nip the evil in the bud.

Policy of Diminishing Consumption

An excuse put forward from Government side is that the total consumption of country liquor is steadily going down in Bengal. Here we are on safer ground in the sense that we can test the accuracy of the statement made by the Excise Minister from the official reports submitted by the Commissioner of Excise, Bengal. I have taken some pains to search and find out the following figures. I challenge any one including the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Excise, Bengal, to say that they are incorrect.

If so, the Commissioner of Excise who is the author of the reports from which they are taken and who is in administrative charge of this department is to blame. Here are figures for four years, 1933-37, showing the total amount of country spirit in London Proof gallons consumed in Bengal:

1933-1934	246, 246 L. P. gallons.
1934-1935	294, 665 L. P. gallons (+48, 419)
1935-1936	296.391 L. P. gallons (+1726)
1936-1937	364, 589 L. P. gallons, (+63, 198)

As compared with the previous year, in 1934-35 there was an increase in the consumption by nearly 48,500 L. P. gallons. The next year the increase was to the extent of 1,700 L. P. gallons which did not satisfy Government and then fresh steps were taken by which in the next year (1936-37) the amount consumed went up by more than 68,000 L. P. gallons.

The Excise Report for 1937-38 has not been published though within the next two weeks or so, we shall step into a new financial year, *viz.*, 1938-39, when two successive reports will be due. This chronic delay in the publication of the reports which cover about 100 pages in print, hampers legislators very much in their work of criticising Government policy and of offering their suggestions. My private information is that in 1937-38 the consumption has gone up by another 50 per cent. or so but I cannot use this information till the official report is in our hands.

The increase in the consumption of country spirit to the amount of nearly half a lakh London Proof gallons in 1934-35 as compared with the previous year was due to a reduction in the duty on country spirit which took effect from the 1st July, 1934. This had the effect of reducing the retail price from 12½ to 25 per cent. This fact is admitted on page 8 of our Excise Report for 1935-36. In the Excise Report for 1933-34, p. 33, it was said that country spirit is consumed mainly by the poorer classes and the economic effects of the depression which had lowered their income seriously had compelled some of them to give up alcohol and others to reduce the amount consumed. I suggest that it was to meet this situation that the duty was lowered.

It is true that the old Government which many of us were constantly abusing as " bureaucratic " was responsible for this lowering of duty. But when our own countrymen and brothers came into power on the 1st April, 1937, why did they not put up the duty to the old rates ? Is it because they wanted the money and did not know what other step to take to keep up the provincial revenues ? If so, they do not possess as much brains as the leaders of a country should have. Or is it that they are ministers in name only and do what they are told? In that case they are unfit to be ministers. Or again is it that they are so callous to the miseries of their countrymen whose suffrage has sent them where they are today that they do not care how greatly they suffer and are not willing to do anything to relieve their miseries ? They are satisfied if they can enjoy the emoluments and the power which go along with the office they fill.

Price Adjustment of Country Spirit

The country spirit sold is of various alcoholic strengths such as 25 U. P., 30 U. P., 40 U. P., 55 U. P., 60 U. P. and 70 U. P. and within recent times, 75 U. P. The price demanded naturally depends on the alcoholic content. Country spirit of the same alcoholic strength has been permitted to be sold in different districts of Bengal at different prices so as to attract the largest number of buyers. For instance the retail price of 25 U. P. country spirit is Rs. 18-2 per imperial gallon in Calcutta and its suburbs, in Howrah and 24-Parganas whereas in five poorer districts in West Bengal, country spirit of the same strength, *viz.*, 25 U. P. is sold at the rate of Rs. 11-7 per imperial gallon, *i.e.*, at Rs. 6-11 less per imperial gallon. What, one is tempted to ask, is the reason for this kindness ? Why has such special tenderness been shown towards the alcoholics of these five districts ? Is there any special animus against them and does any one in power desire to turn the people of these localities into confirmed drunkards by making country spirits at cheaper rates available to them? Or, is it that it is made cheaper so that poor though they are, they may be able to drink country liquor and thus help to swell the revenue from excise ?

Then again 70 U. P. which was at one time the cheapest country spirit is made available in Calcutta and three districts only. Here again, the intention is the same, *viz.*, to make available cheap liquor at

prices within the means of the poorest consumer. In three other districts situated in other parts of Bengal only medium priced country spirit is available. I presume this policy has been followed because the people there are either better off or because the drink habit has become so rooted among the alcoholics that they indulge in alcohol even though the price which has to be paid is higher than, in one sense in the luckier though poorer districts where the cheapest spirit is available.

The only aim of this price adjustment of one and the same spirit in different districts of Bengal is the securing of the highest possible revenue irrespective of the misery and degradation which invariably accompany the use of alcohol. Such price adjustment is possible only because Government holds the monopoly in drink and drugs and it will continue until the country rises as one man and compels its abolition.

The Latest Country Liquor

But this did not satisfy our Government. More money had to be found and a new device, which cannot by any means be characterised as proceeding from the angels was contrived to increase the provincial revenues. Country spirit had to be made cheaper in order that it might be within the means of the very poorest. They must be tempted to drink so that Government revenue might be increased. A new strength of country liquor known as 75 U. P. was put on the market and it is being sold at retail prices varying between 4½ to 4 annas per quart bottle.

Those who advocate liquor containing a small amount of alcohol forget that a large glass of a liquor like beer or the new 75 U. P., contains as much alcohol as a small glass of whisky. The only difference between the two is that in the former the alcohol appears in a more diluted form. The policy of keeping up the prices of alcoholic beverages containing comparatively large percentage of alcohol, while increasing the sale of liquors like beer in the West or 75 U. P. in Bengal which contains a smaller percentages of alcohol, with the idea that this would tend to check drunkenness and at the same time swell the public revenues is not a new one though it may be that it is new to our Excise Minister.

With this end in view in 1825, the Duke of Wellington, then head of the British Cabinet, reduced the duty on beer and made

it cheaper than ever before. According to Hansard, he is reported to have said that he was " sure that the measure would be attended with the most benefical consequences " and regarded it as a greater achievement than all his victories. The results were quite disappointing. Drunkenness and debauchery increased to such an extent that a Committee for the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury reported: " This measure though introduced for the avowed purpose of repressing intemperency by counteracting the temptation to excessive drinking of ardent spirits, has been abundantly proved not only to have failed in its benevolent purpose but to have served throughout the country to multiply and intensify the very evils it was intended to remove." Sydney Smith, writing at that time, said: " The new Beer Bill has begun its operation. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling."

History tends to repeat itself. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of Excise replying to a question put by me in the Legislative Assembly stated that the recently introduced 75 U. P. contains such a small proportion of alcohol that it may almost be regarded as a beverage. He forgets that even lemonade is a beverage though not in the sense in which he uses the word when characterising this new method of demoralising our poor and ignorant brethren. Let him learn this lesson from past experience as embodied in the history of Western countries and it is this. The drinking of beverages which contain a small percentage of alcohol has never in any part of the world and at any time been known to diminish drunkenness. On the other hand, it has always had the effect of training moderate drinkers into drunkards.

Whatever the morality of the new departure in the Excise policy, there is not the slightest doubt that it had a wonderful effect in increasing the consumption. This immediately went up to the extent of more than 63,000 London Proof gallons in 1936-37 which is an increase of 23 per cent. In the industrial areas round about Calcutta, the percentage of increase in the consumption is more than 61. What a tragedy for the poor people and how awful to think that educated and cultured men who should have stopped drunkenness , failed to make proper use of those powers with which God has entrusted them temporarily.

It is dreadful to think that the attempt to encourage the sale of country spirit by the adoption of these two steps should have met

with such regrettable success. Every now and then, my social service and religious work takes me to the industrial areas situated close to Calcutta. I would ask anyone to go to any one of these places on Saturdays or Sundays and see for himself the depths of degradation into which our ignorant and poor brethren sink by the temptation of cheap alcoholic drinks. There is not the slightest doubt that drunkenness instead of diminishing, as stated by the Excise Minister of Bengal, is rapidly on the increase and that the Bengal Government is directly responsible for this state of things.

Excise Minister's Three Devices

Coming to the three devices which according to the Excise Minister have been adopted for the discouragement of the use of country spirit, I find that the first is restriction of sale. What these restrictions are, I do not profess to know. But what is actually reported in the official publication of the Excise Department is that the Bengal Government by its notifications has extended the closing hours for shops selling country spirit and country fermented liquor. Will this step decrease or increase the amount consumed ?

The second of these devices is a reduction in the number of excise shops. I have carefully examined the reports but I have not seen anywhere any decrease in their number. What I did actually find is that in 1935-36, fresh licenses were granted to 47, and in 1936-37 to 70 shops. As the report for 1937-38 has not been published as yet, it is impossible to say whether there has been any addition to the number during this period.

So far as the third device namely the high price of liquor is concerned, we know that the effect of the reduction in the duty on country spirit has been to cheapen its retail price from 12½ to 25 per cent. This is the increase in the price of country spirit about which so much was said in our Legislature. I do not suggest that a deliberate attempt was made to mislead the House but I do suggest that the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Excise is not as familiar with the administration of his department as we have the right to expect from him.

I maintain that the series of dry facts I have placed before you prove that even if there is any desire on the part of the Bengal Cabinet to discourage the use of alcoholic beverages, it has not manifested

itself by the adoption of any step calculated to produce this effect. On the other hand, the conclusion which may, with a very great show of justice, be drawn by an uncharitable critic is that the Bengal Government is organising this sinful traffic in the souls and bodies of our fellow citizens in such a manner as to produce the highest revenue without caring to take into account the terrible distress which their callous policy entails.

Prohibition at Noakhali

After dealing in a very general and, let me add, in a very inadequate way with the excise policy of the Bengal Government so far as it concerns alcoholic preparations, I shall now proceed to give you some idea about the kind of prohibition we have introduced.

In the first budget sessions of our Legislative Assembly, the Premier who took part in the debate, said: "Not only shall total prohibition be our goal but we shall try, to make experiments in certain selected areas and we shall try, if possible, to do our very best and not half-heartedly to carry out this policy to success within the term of our office." This statement was made on the 4th September, 1937. Sj. Rajagopalachariar who took up the reins of office long after our Cabinet had done so, introduced prohibition at Salem from the 1st October, 1937. Our ministers took 7 months to consider the matter probably because, in the language of the Scriptures, they are "men of little faith" and announced the introduction of prohibition in the district of Noakhali in East Bengal with effect from the 1st April, 1938. In this way one full year was wasted out of the five representing the life of the present Assembly.

The area of the district of Noakhali is 1,518 square miles and its population, according to the last census was in round numbers, 1·7 million of whom 1·34 million, that is, approximately 80 per cent. are orthodox Muslims, generally agriculturists. According to the latest available Excise report that for the year 1936-37, there are 36 excise shops of which only 4 hold licenses for the sale of country spirit. These sold country spirit equivalent to 473 London Proof gallons that year. These shops which yielded a gross revenue of about Rs. 4,000 in 1937-38 have come under the operation of the special brand of prohibition axe manufactured for the benefit of Bengal by our present Cabinet. The quantity sold by these four shops is roughly a little over one-thousandth part (1-1,000) of the total amount consumed in Bengal.

The revenue sacrificed is roughly three-thousand-four-hundred and-fortieth part (1-3,440) of the total provincial excise revenue.

Lastly, according to the latest Excise report, in Madras the licenses of 2,151 excise shops and 8,628 tapping licenses making a grand total of 10,789 licenses were cancelled. In Bengal 4 licenses have been cancelled but as about 120 new licenses have been issued there is an addition of about 116 new shops licensed to sell excise articles.

Are you not struck with admiration at the extent of the pecuniary sacrifice involved by this notable departure from the old bureaucratic policy ? Are you not filled with awe at the thought of the immense amount of liquor from the drinking of which the poor people have been saved ? And are you not very eager to know the extent of the moral, intellectual and economic effects of the introduction of prohibition of this most wonderful type ?

Jesting apart, let us try to go a little more deeply into the matter. There is not a single toddy-tapper in the district of Noakhali nor is there a single toddy shop. 80 per cent. of the population are orthodox Muslims to whom alcohol in any shape is anathema. The 4 country spirit shops serve the needs of the lower classes of non-Muslims and their number is so small that, on the average, alcoholic beverages equal to about one gallon London Proof is sold from each shop daily. The consumption of excise articles is so low that the average incidence of excise taxation per head of population is 3 pies per year only. If we take into account the amount of revenue drawn from alcohol only and divide it among the whole population, we shall require a mathematical genius to ensure accuracy and we must also specially develop our mathematical sense of infinitesimally small amounts in order to fully realise the smallness of the tax.

I maintain that, for all practical purposes, Noakhail was " dry " even before the introduction of this special brand of prohibition. We have seen in the papers and also heard from our friends that the ministers of the Congress provinces had to organise preventive staff, to conduct propaganda and to provide counter-attractions, as soon as they introduced prohibition in their provinces. Sjts. Rajagopalachariar and Munuswami Pillai not only address meetings whenever they tour through Salem, Cuddapah and Chittor the three districts in which prohibition has been introduced but also grant interviews to addicts and try to help them with their advice. Our ministers are in the

happy position that by introducing prohibition in Noakhali, they are saved all this trouble and botheration. They have not been obliged to address prohibition meetings, to approach non-official organisations, to secure reliable volunteers, to help in the prohibition campaign, probably they are far too big and important for this kind of work, nor to think out what kind of counter-attraction to provide for the benefit of ex-addicts.

I am surprised at the inconsistency of our Cabinet. In one breath we are told that prohibtion will be introduced and its long delayed first instalment takes the form of the cancellation of 4 licenses against which we have to count the issue of about 120 new licenses. A revenue amounting to about Rs. 4,000 per year is sacrificed and simultaneously licenses for about 120 new shops issued which, according to the calculation of a friend of mine who understands such matters better than I pretend to do, are likely to yield a revenue of more than a lakh. In the face of this, how can we say that we have prohibition in Bengal unless of course, it is of a special kind which, like the royal Bengal tiger found in the Sunderbans, is unparalleled anywhere else in the world and is our very own speciality ?

Explanation of the Policy

From what I have said already, you might desire to know the reasons underlying the very peculiar policy of the Bengal Government. The Cabinet, as men of affairs with considerable experience of the world, must be aware of the serious damages caused by stimulants and narcotics. They have stated that they are in favour of prohibition and yet they are granting fresh licenses liberally. My own view is that, unlike many of the provinces, our Government has not taken any really vigorous steps to reduce the cost of administration. On the other hand, it has been increased by the creation of new posts, etc. This has coincided with the failure of revenue from certain hitherto profitable sources. It does not relish the idea of taxing the rich for the benefit of the poor to any large extent and so it is pushing the sale of excise articles in order to provide additional revenue. I would ask your patience a little longer in order to enable me to place my ideas regarding excise revenue before you. I do not claim that my interpretation is beyond criticism but I do maintain that it is worth your consideration on account of at least its plausibility.

The British inherited the excise policy from the preceding rulers. This consisted in the control of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks and narcotic drugs. Soon the English found out that by taxing drink and drugs, they could obtain from the poorest of the poor, who were not called upon to pay taxes in any other shape, part of the cost of administration. As it was not necessary to maintain an expensive staff in order to exercise an effective check on illicit manufacture and sale, taxing alcoholic beverages and narcotics became popular as a simple, cheap and widely applicable method for securing an ever-expanding revenue.

This Government monopoly in drink and drugs has been one of our greatest hindrances in introducing prohibition in our motherland. An appreciable percentage of our revenue comes from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors and narcotic drugs and therefore complete or partial prohibition means the loss of a respectable part of the revenue of the State. It is a well-known fact that expenditure always has a tendency to exceed income. This is true, not only of individuals but also of the State. The demand for increased revenue has gradually brought about an increase in the number of shops dealing in drink and drugs.

It should not be forgotten that when Government holds the monopoly for a particular article, there is always present though perhaps subconsciously, a tendency towards the indirect encouragement for its use even when it is detrimental to the best interests of the public. This tendency sometimes proceeds so far as to lead to winking at the breaking of laws concerned with its manufactures, sale and use. This relaxation in the administration of particular laws is simply due to the fact that their strict enforcement would lead to loss of revenue.

Most unfortunately, the modern world is ruled by the law of tooth and claw. It has grown to be a place where every one is for himself and where the evil one takes the hindmost. Economic injustice of various types is rampant to-day and the exploitation of man by man has grown so common that it excites no comment. The golden precept of Christ " Love thy neighbour as thyself " is regarded by many as drivelling nonsense and is more honoured in the breach than the observance.

Every Government has, as the result of experience, learnt that the cost of administration tends to increase year after year. Nor can

it always be said with truth that in every case the increase in the cost is justifiable.

To lay any new or extra-heavy burden of taxation on the rich and powerful is risky. Such people not only have their representatives in the legislature who know how to make themselves felt but, over and above that, the *de facto* rulers of the country for the time being are, more often than not, themselves members of the privileged classes. In this world of selfishness only a very innocent man or a fool would expect such people to take any action calculated to touch their own pockets or the pockets of their relatives and friends to whom they are under obligation in various ways and in various directions including the possession of political power.

The cardinal principle of taxation is that it should be levied on those who are in a position to pay. But this requires an amount and kind of self-sacrifice of which the ordinary politician is constitutionally incapable. The money, however, must be found and found it is by shifting the burden of taxation from shoulders strong enough to bear it to shoulders quite incapable of doing so. Direct taxation, such as the Income Tax for example, is regarded by the majority in the light of an unjust imposition of financial burden by the State mainly because the payer is conscious of money leaving his pocket. The burden of indirect taxation is not so keenly felt because we pay it only when we buy an article on which it is levied. In order therefore that this additional revenue may be obtained with the smallest amount of annoyance and objection, whenever possible, it must be levied on a comparatively small number of men whose voice of protest may be easily drowned It would be still better if the men taxed are in such a peculiar position that they dare not or cannot clamour. Further it must be indirect taxation so that even if comparatively heavy amounts have to be paid, the people taxed will not ordinarily feel the financial pinch. Lastly, in addition to yielding a steady revenue, it must be elastic so as to be capable of meeting future expanding needs.

I maintain that taxing excise articles is the only method which meets all these conditions perfectly. Taking the conditions one by one we find that in India, as well as in other parts of the world, the largest proportion of the excise revenue is contributed by the poorer classes who betake themselves to stimulants and narcotics mainly in order to forget their miseries. Those of the rich who use these substances are but few in number, their contribution when compared with that coming

from the poorer classes being negligible in amount. A glance at the report of the Excise Department of any province of India will prove the correctness of my views. These people are not in a position to oppose the imposition of taxes on excise articles.

Secondly, the tax has to be paid by a comparatively small number of people for only the users pay it and, as we all know, they form a small fraction of the total population in India. Besides being scattered all over the country, they cannot combine themselves into an organisation in order to put their grievances before their Government. Then again, the addicts are aware of the disgrace which, at least in India, attaches to the use of drink and drugs and so they dare not raise any clamour.

Once people become habitual users of either stimulants or narcotics, they are prepared to go to any lengths to satisfy their cravings and thus to fill the coffers of the State. The revenue from excise has never been known to fall for, with every day that passes, new addicts are being created and so the revenue of the State undergoes constant expansion from year to year. In India for instance it has risen in 15 years from 1920 to 1934 from 60 million to 1,000 million rupees.

I contend that as taxing alcoholic beverages and narcotic drugs satisfies all the requirements of the ideal tax, the selfish, the rich and the powerful not only refuse their support to prohibition but go beyond that and vote against it on various excuses of the hollowness of which they are fully conscious. But the real reason is to save their own pockets for they know quite well that the introduction of prohibition must carry along with it the imposition of new taxes which they will be expected to pay. These people have grown so callous and selfish, that so long as their money is safe, they have no pity for the poor and ignorant people who are being plunged almost daily into deeper and deeper misery, degradation and suffering. The knowledge that the wives of the addicts are ill-treated, and their children starved has no power to move their hearts. Money is their god and so long as it is not demanded from them, they do not care who suffers.

The lack of courage to impose additional taxes on the rich is, I maintain the real reason for pushing the sale of alcoholic beverages and narcotic drugs and this policy will be adhered to so long as there is not a change of heart among our great and powerful men.

A Lesson from Madras

Towards the end of December, 1938, and early in January, 1939, I was at Madras for nearly three weeks. During this period, I tried to investigate into the working of prohibition in this province. I propose now to place before you in short what I found there and to compare it with what is found in Bengal.

In Madras, three districts and in Bengal one district have gone dry. In Madras all stimulants and narcotics are banned. In Bengal only country spirit has been banned; no control is exercised on the sale of Ganja; Bhang and Opium at Noakhali. In Madras the dry area is 19,000 square miles. In Bengal the dry area is 1,518 square miles. In Madras the population of the dry area which has to be kept under control is 55 lakhs. In Noakhali, Bengal it is 17 lakhs. In Madras there were 9 to 9½ lakh toddy drinkers. In Bengal none, as trees are not tapped for toddy at Noakhali but there were 4 shops each selling daily country spirit containing one gallon of London Proof alcohol. In Madras, drunkenness was the rule, in Noakhali, Bengal the exception. In Madras the revenue sacrificed up to the 31st March, 1939, will not be less than Rs. 34 lakhs; in Bengal it will not be more than Rs. 4,000.

I ask you to go home and to ponder over these very dry but very significant facts which I have just placed before you and then decide for yourselves whether, as compared with the Madras Cabinet, the present Cabinet of Bengal can by even the remotest stretch of the imagination be said to be sincere in their desire to introduce prohibition in Bengal. Let no one imagine that I enjoy criticising our Cabinet specially in a place outside Bengal. In my view, the proper place for this is the Assembly. As a Bengali, I have a certain amount of pride and I feel ashamed when I have to speak about our shortcomings to people of other provinces.

Let me conclude by quoting to you certain very wise words which were spoken in Greece centuries ago: "The greatness of men is to be judged not so much by their ability to acquire political power, as by the use of that power when it has once been secured. For power corrupts and, as a class politicians are exposed to more temptations than people occupying humbler positions. Power is a great trust placed by a democracy in the hands of its leaders and it must be used with wisdom and discretion and for the benefit of all and not for the benefit

of some among the citizens." Judged by this old standard the Bengal Cabinet has failed and failed lamentably.

As a Christian, I feel impelled to add one word more. When the Lord and Master whom I worship and who, I am certain is reverenced by all here as a great religious teacher, hung on the Cross, he spoke certain memorable words which have rung down the ages and which characterise the ideal Christian attitude towards one's adverseries. "Father," He said, "forgive them for they know not what they do." These words uttered when Christ was enduring mortal agony will not only be remembered but treasured so long as one man not utterly lost to all sense of the necessity of a higher spiritual life is left in this sinful and miserable world.

The Bengal Government, is fully aware of what it is doing by encouraging the State traffic in drink and drugs. It is aware of the endless degradation, unhappiness and misery brought on the citizens of my province by this traffic. Those in power are human and therefore sinful beings. Like others, they too will have to seek and obtain the forgiveness of God. How awful to think that with their eyes open they are rejecting it for, unlike the murderers of Christ, "They know what they are doing." Political power is a desirable thing but only under those circumstances when it enables a man to benefit his country otherwise it is an unmitigated curse. As their countryman, I sincerely trust that they will come to see the error of their ways and try by every means within their power to undo the mischief which they have already done and to merit the blessings of God without which all their other labours to benefit their country will be utterly thrown away.

CRIMINOLOGY AND APPLIED ANTHRO POLOGY

P. C. Biswas, M.Sc., Ph.D.

CRIMINOLOGY is one of the important branches of applied Anthropology which, in modern times has attracted much attention of the European and American anthropologists. They are engaged in tracing how far heredity and environment influence criminality. Some, like Ceasare Lombroso, believe that criminality is inherited and manifested by definite stigmata in the individual. Dr. Healy and others who lay more stress on the effects of environment, consider that the facts of crime are nothing but the evidence of maladjustment between the individual and society.

There are mainly three things which make a person likely to commit a crime. These are, first, bad home, secondly, bad company and lastly, bad natural qualities. With our present knowledge we are not in a position to estimate the relative or absolute effects of each of these. It is difficult to measure how much is due to bad early environment, how much to bad company and how much to bad inborn predispositions.

Followers of environmental school hold that natural predispositions need not so much be taken into account but particular attention must be paid to the surroundings either of the child when at home or the man later in life. Thus they believe that if children are removed from bad homes they will be able to get rid of all the bad effects. The followers of the hereditary school are of opinion that it is impossible to deny the influence of heredity. Many qualities that help to promote crime are natural and inborn and these often pass on to progeny. No one who has studied the subject doubts that this is true of feeble-mindedness. Investigation of criminals shows that some are invariably feeble-minded. The experts in England also agree that, in addition to the feeble-minded, a very large proportion of young criminals can be described as not quite normal. All these mental troubles, whether mild or severe, are often transmitted to future generations by inheritance.

It has been suggested that the powers which human beings possess of overcoming their evil propensities are strictly limited. In

this connection I am citing some facts which our renowned eugenist Leonard Darwin mentioned in support of the above argument. "A boy from a very bad home commits a crime with no excuse, and in consequence he is sent to a reformatory, where he is well cared for. Another boy does not fall so readily, but when somewhat older and when more tempted he does become a criminal. Now those who put everything down to the influence of home surroundings must assume that the home of this second boy was bad, though not so bad as that of the first boy. This second boy remained later in his resumably bad home, and had for a shorter time the advantage of reformatory training; that is in comparison with the first boy, coming from the even worse home. Let those who look only to surroundings consider which boy will be most likely to commit a crime after having finished his reformatory training. As a fact, it is those boys who have been longest in reformatories who are found to be most likely to become habitual criminals. Properly regarded this does not, however, throw any discredit on reformatory training. The explanation is that it was the boys with worst natural qualities who on the whole committed offences against the law earlier in life. They had in consequence the longest reformatory training ; but, when coming out, their bad qualities began to tell once again and soon led them to a life of crime. No doubt many who have been led astray mainly by the force of bad example can be and are put on the right road by care and training ; and this fact amply justifies the existence of institutions for this purpose. But here we have a proof of the existence of hereditary qualities tending to promote crime which cannot he denied."

We should therefore, ascertain as far as possible which classes of criminals have the worst hereditary qualities. Expert criminals subject to heavy punishment apply skill, intelligence and courage in committing serious crimes. Habitual criminals commit petty offences against the law as they are not courageous enough to face the consequence of serious offences. Moreover they are found as a rule to be very stupid, and often lazy, bad tempered, thoughtless and decidedly inferior in strength and other qualities. They take to crime early in life, and they far out-number what are generally called the worst offenders. It is the habitual offender, to whom special attention should be paid in considering the means of diminishing crime.

It is admitted on all hands that prison does no good to the criminal himself ; for the more often he is shut up, the more determined

is he to commit further crimes. According to Leonard Darwin the best plan would be to treat the habitual criminals in three different ways.

1. The aim at the first stage, immediately after the first offence should be to get rid as far as possible of the after effects of the bad home. The young offender, if not kept under probation, should be sent immediately to some institution to be trained ; and he should be kept their as long as any useful purpose would be served. Life at such places should be made pleasant rather than unpleasant ; for that would lessen the opposition to such detention. Many will be saved, and excellent work will be accomplished. On the other hand, failures will be frequent ; for innate stupidity cannot be stamped out by the school master.

2. During the second stage the aim should be to make young offenders more afraid of coming within the grasp of the law. Short and sharp imprisonments should be given when crimes are committed by those who have had adequate reformatory training. The punishment should be sufficiently unpleasant to make it feared ; for if this is the case it will deter a few more crimes. Those endowed with very bad predispositions will however, drift back to prison time after time; and, when convicted four or five times, further liberty is practically certain to mean further crime. Then the public has the right to demand adequate protection, both against this intolerable nuisance and against the social contagion springing from the criminal himself.

3. It would only be in the proposed third stage that the families of criminals would be reduced in numbers, and that the eugenic aim would be in any degree attained. After it had appeared certain that further short imprisonments would be useless, detention after each conviction should be for longer and longer periods, until finally the detention should be permanent. Such long detentions should be made pleasant rather than unpleasant, the sexes, however, being kept apart. Habitual criminals at this stage are to be pitied rather than blamed, because it has become evident that they are persons, incapable of managing their own affairs."

The most interesting and scientific method of estimating the effects of heredity and environment on criminality is the modern twin study. Twins are of two kinds, monozygotic (identical) twins and dizygotic (fraternal) twins. Monozygotic twins are formed by the complete severance of one fertilised ovum into two halves, each of which

then develops into an independent child.[1] Dizygotic twins are formed out of two distinct ova which are simultaneously fertilised or successively fertilised, the process being known as super-fecundation when the two ova belong to the same menstrual period, and as super-foetation when they belong to different menstrual periods. Thus in the case of mono-oval twins the members of the pair will have identical hereditary equipments, whereas in the case of dioval twins there will not as a rule be more similarity in this respect than happens in the case of ordinary brothers and sisters.

Professor Johannes Lange's investigation of criminal twins has given a very interesting result on the estimation of the effects of heredity and environment on criminality. He studied the life history of 13 pairs of identical twins and 17 pairs of fraternal twins. Among the 13 pairs of identical twins, both the members of 10 pairs were criminals and one of the members of the rest 3 pairs became criminal and the other five became stark mad. Of his 17 pairs of fraternal twins, both the members of two pairs were criminals and one member of the rest 15 pairs was criminal. He has also shown that environmental differences have very little effect on the criminal behaviours of the identical twins.[2]

The subject has hardly received proper attention in India, although crime is on the increase in this country. Here in India Reformatories and Borstal institutions have been established with a view to reform the child criminals. But scientific investigation of the individual offender is necessary to see whether bad environment or heredity or both have incited him to commit offences. After examination of all the factors only are we then in a position to suggest the line of treatment suitable to be adopted in these institutions. Even such measures will not entirely prevent the offenders from committing crime. But to rid the society of such offenders the best course would be to introduce a eugenic programme stopping the multiplication of the unfit and the undesirable.

[1] The origin of identical twins is that the woman only releases, as usual a single ovum, which is fertilised by a single spermatozoon. But at some stage very soon after this formation of the zygote—possibly at the first cleavage—the process of cell division goes too far, so that the whole organism splits into two separate halves, instead of the cells remaining attached by their walls. Each of the two cells, or branches of cells, then proceeds on the ordinary course of development, with the result that the two separate individuals, but springing from the same egg, develop side by side in the womb. Naturally, two such individuals must be of the same sex and should in all other respects share an identical hereditary constitution.

[2] Lange, J., Verbrechen als Schicksal. Leipzig 1929, G. Thieme.

SOME ASPECTS OF RECENT ENGLISH FICTION

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THE thirty odd years which fall within our scope have witnessed many changes in international politics and in the general outlook of humanity. Democracy has been largely overlaid by Fascistic ideas. The old fetishes of equality, etc., are on the road to being discarded. It is more usual to hear the following opinion than its opposite:

'The masses have been ruled since time began, and, till time ends, ruled they will have to be. It is sheer hypocrisy and farce to say they can rule themselves.'[1]

The rise of Dictatorships clearly shows which way the wind is blowing The European War flamed on the western front with the multitudes of shrapnels and distant-range guns destroying not only life and the work of man's hand, like cathedrals and cities, but creating at the same time a disillusioned attitude which still persists, manifesting itself in all forms of art and literature which are described as post-war.

The Feminist Movement has acted as a powerful force which has steadily altered the sex relations, giving women an increasing scope and opportunity to play a new rôle in society. This movement derived much of its inspiration from Olive Schreiner's "Women and Labour" which Vera Brittain describes as "that Bible of Woman's Movement."[2] A short passage from this book will indicate the aspiration felt by the new generation of women:

"We take all labour for our province! From the judge's seat to the legislator's chair: from the statesman's closet to the merchant's office; from the chemist's laboratory to the astronomer's tower, there is no post or form of toil for which it is not our intention to attempt to fit ourselves; and there is no closed door we do not intend to force

[1] Lady Chatterley's Lover (Martin Secker), by D. H. Lawrence, p. 202.
[2] Testament Of Youth (Victor Gollancz, Ltd.), p. 41.

open ; and there is no fruit in the garden of knowledge it is not our determination to eat.'[1]

In 1911 these words had a significance which they no longer possess, and the keenness, energy, and determination of the suffregettes who strove to win an all-round recognition for women to exercise the rights and liberties so long open to men alone may to some extent be visualised from a work like "The New Machiavelli" by H. G. Wells in which those eventful years have been painted in the course of the story told by the ' hero ' himself in a kind of autobiographical study.

That the woman's movement was to inaugurate a new era even in personal relations of the most deep and intimate nature might not have been so clear from the wild enthusiasm it kindled leading to such disorderly scenes as smashing of shop windows and setting fire to houses, but even long before the suffregettes started their virulent campaign Olive Schreiner conveyed to her generation the joy of the new freedom for which Parliament legislated in subsequent years:

" It is for love's sake yet more than for any other that we look for that new time...Then when that time comes...when love is no more bought or sold, when it is not a means of making bread, when each woman's life is filled with earnest, independent labour, then love will come to her, a strange sudden sweetness breaking in upon her earnest work ; not sought for, but found."[2]

The loosening of the bonds of religion, the liberty attained by women in their personal movements and the facilities of coming into men's contact provided by popularization of motoring have led to casual union of the sexes, which appears to be fostered by the stringency of the law regulating divorce.[3] This has made a thorough revision of the sex problem indispensable. The work is being carried out scientifically without any heed being paid to the hundreds of taboos by which it was once surrounded. Literature which reflects life fully registers a reorientation of attitude to sex matters but unfortunately courageous thinking and a spirit of keen-eyed speculation have led to a certain amount of pornography from which delicate taste has recoiled with a shudder. The worst sinners in this vicious form of writing include in their ranks some who possess very high literary abilities.

[1] Women and Labour, by Olive Schreiner,
The Story of an African Farm, by Olive Schreiner, p. 212 (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., London, 1924).
[3] *Vide* The Nineteen-Twenties (Methuen), by A. C. Ward, p. 14 f.

Up to the moment of the outbreak of War in 1914 England had not changed very much from the Victorian tradition. The accumulation of wealth had been going on steadily, and there was very little to show within the country itself that there was such a disaster ahead. Vera Brittain in her autobiography[1] gives a fair idea of the restraint under which young ladies had to live. She does not speak of the cities, but the condition there was not very much more advanced as her own book bears testimony. The following passage clearly characterizes the manner in which a young woman lived before the disruptive forces of the war broke down the old order in society:

" Before the War, the occupations, interest and most private emotions of a young woman living in a small town were supervised from each day's beginning to its end, and openly discussed in the family circle. Letters were observed and commented on with a lack of compunction only to be prevented by lying in wait for the postman with an assiduity that could not be permanently maintained under a system of four posts a day. The parental habit—then almost universally accepted as " correct " where daughters were concerned—of inquisition into each day's proceedings made private encounters, even with young men in the same town, almost impossible without a whole series of intrigues and subterfuges which robbed love of all its dignity."[2]

Galsworthy has thus characterized the post-war generation[3]

"An age which knows not what it wants, yet is intensely preoccupied with getting it...Like the Irishman's chicken, our Present runs about so fast that it cannot be summed up ; it can be snapshotted while it hurries along looking for its Future without notion where, what, or when the Future will be."

Mr. A. C. Ward in his able study " The Nineteen-Twenties " has disagreed from this view,[4] which he has attributed to the absence of perspective in the author of " The Modern Comedy." He further observes that the mistake made by Galsworthy has been caused by his forgetfulness of a fact he has repeatedly recognised in his own Saga, namely, " that change is the law of creation and that time reconciles all things."[5]

[1] Testament of Youth, p. 120.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Preface to The Modern Comedy.

[4] Nineteen-Twenties By A. C. Ward, p. 36.

[4] *Ibid.*

The uncertainty of aim and a general scepticism which govern the post-war generation have led to a series of experimentations, involving changes in form, content, as well as in the spirit of the fiction which has been produced in this age. It will be interesting to note the views of a novelist setting forth the essential elements of a novel before we proceed to a more analytical study of recent fiction. "The foundation of good fiction," writes Arnold Bennett in "Things that have interested Me,"[1] "is character-creating and nothing else. The characters must be so fully true that they possess their own creator." Bennett then points out the importance of style, plot, originality, information and sympathy and adds that "the real convincingness of characters is the greatest asset."[2] Bennett has been held to be "the greatest of living realists," and as, "one of the greatest of living novelists;"[3] and yet Rebecca West who groups him with some other eminent novelists as her 'uncles,'[4] suggests by her denomination that he is anything but abreast of the times, and Virginia Woolf charges him with having laid more stress upon outer surroundings than upon the kernel of truth in the characters he has delineated.

It may be not here out of place to say a few words about the novelists who are collectively spoken of as the "stream of consciousness novelists." They are James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Dorothy Richardson. Marcel Proust whose works are now available in English, having been translated from the original French, is a leading exponent of the new technique.[5] They represent not only a new literary method but an outlook which synchronisd with the War. All of them, curiously enough, began to write at almost the same time on the eve of the War. They were, however, uninfluenced by each other, but each tried to do the same kind of work: they studied the slightest movement of the inner consciousness faithfully, but their records with all their truth and originality are not likely to capture the popular imagination. The phrase "stream of

1 Chatto and Windus, 1926, p. 193.
2 *Ibid*
3 American and British Literature since 1890 By Carl Van Doren and Mark Van Doren, 1925.
4 The Strange Necessity, by Rebecca West, p. 203.
5 What Lady Chatterley says about Marcel Proust is worth attending to, for she seems impressively correct in her opinion which may be taken to apply more or less to the work of these "modn" novelists: "But he (Proust) bores me: all that sophistication! He doesn't have feelings, he only has stream of words about feelings. I'm tired of self-important mentalities." (Lady Chatterley's Lover By D. H. Lawrence, p. 216.)

consciousness" has been in long use but it is not certainly known when the vogue was first established. Katherine Fullerton gives Henry James the credit of having coined the expression.[1] The following passage may help to elucidate the practice of this group of novelists:

"Ideas and images as they occur are set down. Whether they are relevant or not to the eye of reason matters nothing, since the eye of reason is itself suspect. Selection in accordance with some previously thought-out plan is eschewed, for selection, too, is a rational, and therefore a cozening operation. Real life is not arranged according to plan; it just happens. And so art must be allowed to just happen likewise."[2]

The "stream of consciousness" novelists are ultra realists, seeking to lay bare the most intimate experiences and impressions of their characters. They do not follow any selective process in the representations of the men and women which they have given us—they intend to state everything. "The pivot of the gospel declared by some modernists seems to be, 'Thou shalt not reject.'"[3] But as the same writer points out, this idea breaks down in practice; because "they cannot possibly *not* reject."[4] The theory they uphold thus fails sufficiently to describe the nature of the practice.

These modernist authors leave the reader to watch the workings of a consciousness, entirely withdrawing the interpreting mind which the novelist of the older tradition thought necessary to supply for making a character intelligible. The reader feels not a little bewildered when no clue is given him, but if he is prepared to grope blindly through some fifty pages of dark outpourings he will perhaps be rewarded at the end by the discovery of a link. Even this cannot, however, be confidently predicted as the story interest having practically disappeared, no architectonic skill is employed by this class of novelists to bind together the sayings and utterances of the different characters into a well-knit story. The authors fortunately do not always rigidly adhere to their principles, and guide-lines are sometimes offered by them to remove the reader's

[1] Saturday Review of Literature, October 22, 1927; The Study of Modern Novel, by A. K. Marble, p. 42.

[2] Scheherazade or The Future of the English Novel (To-day and Tomorrow Series), by John Carruthers. p. 64.

[3] Ward, The Nineteen-Twenties, p. 53.

[4] *Ibid.*

perplexity. Shorn of the author's comments, the picture of Miriam Henderson's consciousness will appear almost entirely unintelligible: [1]

" . . . trees and fields German towns and then Holland . . . ' Dont go so deeply into everything, chickie. You must learn to take life as it comes. Ah-eh if I were strong I could show you how to enjoy life." [2]

The above illustration sufficiently shows that states of consciousness cannot usually be followed unless the author is prepared to act as an interpreter. The reader relies upon him as a guide. By refusing to play his part in the zeal to establish a theory, the novelist succeeds only in making himself unintelligible. Given a certain amount of omniscience, the new method will work excellently but human nature has not changed in the direction of a telepathic freedem from the usual methods of verbal communication to which we are accustomed. Hence the incessant flowing of " the stream of consciousness," however successful it may be from the point of view of a student of human psychology, does not seem to have answered the purpose of art. To this new type of novelists we owe a considerable volume of experimental work including a mass of prose which appears almost entirely baffling. The following passage from James Joyce will bear out the remark:

" . . . Well, arundgirond in a waveney lyne aringarouma she pattered and swung and sidled, dribbling her boulder through narrowa mosses, the diliskydrear on our drier side and the vilde vetchvine agin us, curara here careero there, not knowing which medway or weser to strike it, edereider making chattahoochee all to her aim chichiu, like Santa Claus at the cree of the pale and puny, nistling to hear for their tiny hearties, her arms encircling Isolabella."

The sentence is not completed without some more lines of tortured, unintelligible prose but this clearly shows that the author does not take the reader with him. He has plunged into a world where we have no access. The curious thing is that a master of clear, limpid,

[1] Ward, the Nineteen-Twenties, p. 53 F.

[2] Pointed Roofs, by Dorothy Richardson, Chapter X. p. 6, Miriam. Henderson is the character of whom Dorothy Richardson makes a careful study in a series of novels to which she gives the name of " Pilgrimage." She gives the very sense of life through Miriam's impression from moment to moment. Miss Richardson's work is a thorough-going example of impressionism. " Pointed Roofs " (1915) is the first book of the series. The others are " Backwater " " Honeycomb ", " The Tunnel ", " Interim ", " Deadlock ", " Revolving Lights ", " The Trap ", and " Oberland."

[3] " Livia plurabelle; " Ward, p. 58.

virile prose, like James Joyce should throw away his gifts in a quest which seems entirely uncalled for. The experiments of the same wild kind are also done in poetry as the following lines from E. E. Cummings [1] will show:

Among
these
red pieces of
day (against which and
quite silently hills
made of blue and green paper
scorchbend ingthem
-selves-U
pcurv E, into:
anguish (clim
b(ing
s-p-i-r-a-
L
and, disappear)
Satanic and blase
a black goat lookingly wanders.

The chief difficulty in the above is not, however, one of language which is plain enough but the arrangement of the words and the somewhat unfamiliar way of looking at things. Experiments in poetry were as fantastic as this in the seventeenth century when the "Metaphysical Poets" were exploring new ways of interpreting ideas and feelings.

The prose passage from James Joyce quoted above is symptomatic of the experimental atmosphere in which much of the literary work of the age is being done. The key to it must be supplied by the author himself as otherwise little of it will be understood in spite of the commentators who seek to explain and decode him. A. C. Ward, however, firmly holds to the view that it is just "pretentious nonsense." [2] It certainly looks like that but when one remembers the dogmatism of Browning criticism in its early stage, a less final attitude to literary questions of this nature seems worth cultivating.

[1] E. E. Cummings, an American poet, is the author of these lines which occur in "is 5."
[2] The Nineteen-Twenties, p. 58.

A special kind of fiction which may best be described as the novel of ideas has recently achieved a high degree of popularity with intellectual people, although literary critics in general have not agreed to receive it into favour, regarding its art as spurious and denying it the right to exist in the garb of fiction. "The World of William Clissold," by H. G. Wells, is an excellent example of the "novel of ideas." A. C. Ward, however, thus comments upon it, speaking with more satiric force than truth: "Had the World of William Clissold (1926) been published in non-fictional dress and called The Intelligent Man's Guide to Almost Everything, thousands of readers would have been saved the trouble of looking for a "story."[1] In the early days of the novel the story interest was of first-rate value. Richardson's "Clarissa Harlowe" (1748) produced a nation-wide excitement and rivers of tears were shed on the heroine's fate. Unexpected turns in the story made the fortune of the authors. That child-like attitude has not entirely disappeared but since the latter half of Henry James's literary career, it has often been neglected, attention being transferred to psycho-analysis and the inward being of a character. We shall have occasion to refer to this subject at some length as we go on with our survey. The absence of a story, judging by contemporary standards, is not therefore to be regarded as a deficiency in a novel. In the novel of ideas, the character of each person is suggested by the ideas of which he is made the mouthpiece. Sentiments, instincts, and the inmost qualities of a man's being are thus revealed; for the theories are presented as lying within the cocoon of his personality. The chief defect of such a novel is that it deals with people who have ideas of their own to express. Such persons are extremely limited in number, and the novelist who is born with an aptitude for observation can hardly be contented with such a narrow class of persons for the supply of his characters. The novel of ideas does not represent any institution of a permanent value. It can be written almost by anyone who has ideas and a language to clothe them in. Hence Philip observes quite truthfully when he says: "The great defect of the novel of ideas is that it's made-up affair. Necessarily; for people who can reel off neatly formulated notions aren't quite real; they're slightly monstrous. Living with

[1] Nineteen-Twenties, p. 30.
[2] Point Counter Point, p. 410.

monsters becomes rather tiresome in the long run." Philip who is a novelist himself may be taken as re-echoing the author's sentiments on the question. Yet Aldous Huxley goes on writing his novel of ideas and sees no reason to give up even when he notices its defects as very few people can do.

The novel of ideas is prospering simultaneously with the " problem novel " which has almost in every case a socio-economic, political or moral basis. The danger against which an author has to be particularly warned in a novel of ideas is a tendency to fill up the book with a series of speeches which, with all their art and ingenuity, fail to reveal character. The story element in such a work is so unimportant that it does not repay labour to look for it. In the absence of interest in character, the novel of ideas becomes dull and insipid. The enthusiasm of Wells saves it from these pitfalls, for he knows how to communicate some of his fervour to the reader and his lively imagination lends interest to ideas which at the hands of a less warm-hearted man might appear cold and lifeless. In the hands of H. G. Wells the novel has often become pseudo-autobiographical ; that is to say, the ' hero ' sets out to tell the story of his life which he does for giving a truthful account of himself to some one in particular, generally a son, or for placing his experiences at the disposal of other men with the altruistic motive of enabling them to shape their lives more skilfully, avoiding errors into which he himself has fallen. Another motive may be stated to be that of clarifying ideas and impressions which remained cloudy at the moment they were first registered by the consciousness. Ponderevo, for instance, thus speaks in " Tono-Bungay " before attempting to tell his story : [1]

" I want to set out my own queer love experiences too, such as they are, for they troubled and distressed and swayed me hugely, and they still seem to contain all sorts of irrational and debatable elements that I shall be the clearer-headed for getting on paper."

Well's novels are thus often camouflaged as autobiographies, but this method, however attractive at the beginning, seems a little worn by repetition. The monotony of presentation is, however, largely redeemed by the energy and directness of his manner. Wells never wastes time in futile speculation about Art and in practising an over refinement of expression for pleasing the fastidious critic. He

[1] Tono Bungay, by H. G. Wells, p. 6.

acquaints the reader with some of his ideas on the subject in ' Boon ': " The way of doing ins't the end. First the end must be judged—and then if you like talk of how it is done. Get there as splendidly as possibly. But get there." [1]

Aldous Huxley who has been mentioned above in connexion with the novel of ideas is much less enthusistic than Wells. In fact his highly cultured manner seems incapable of anything but a cold pressure of the hand—a detachment of spirit which can see a thing as well as its opposite with the calmness of self-possession. His splendid urbanity comes out in ' Point Counter Point,' ' Crome Yellow,' and in travel sketches like ' Jesting Pilate,' etc., but viewed in relation to the novel of ideas, his real contribution falls short of the expectation his eminent gifts of style, observation, and fair-mindedness would naturally raise. D. H. Lawrence, besides being a poet and dramatist, has made his mark in the field of fiction where his reputation might have vied with the greatest if he had less played the rôle of a professional psychologist. His ' Women in Love ' where the characters of Ursula, Gudrun, Hermione, Gerald, and Birkin are implied by the ideas put into their mouths should properly be regarded as a novel of ideas. His ' Sons and Lovers ' is a work of great interest which John Macy justly characterizes as " a masterpiece in which every sentence counts." [2] But it is a picture of emotion rising from the subconscious nature to assert its primacy. The two central figures in the story, Paul and Mrs. Morel, are creatures of emotion rather than of ideas. The novel thus does not ally itself with the class to which ' Point Counter Point ' and other works considered above, belong. " Lady Chatterley's Lover" by D. H. Lawrence hovers on the edge of what we have referred to as novel of ideas. The classification would not be adequate to the spirit of this novel, for ideas and emotions are both important in " Lady Chatterley's Lover." A large number of novels share with this work a strong intellectual bias without quite satisfying the conditions which would justify the label, ' novel of ideas; ' for in them character is as much shown by the acts of men and women as by the ideas put into their mouths.

(To be continued)

[1] Boon, by H. G. Wells.
Art is thus relegated to a place of secondary importance. Doing a thing is what really counts, the manner of doing will receive leisurely attention.
[2] John Macy's Introduction to " Sons and Lovers," p. V.

NATURE IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF PROF. PRINGLE-PATTISON.

BISWANATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

PROF. Pringle-Pattison observes that a realistic attitude towards the world of our everyday experience is 'a primary, instinctive and irresistible belief of all mankind, nay of the whole animal creation.' This universal, primary and ineradicable belief of mankind, may itself be a point against taking the world as a 'carefully organised deception.' But he maintains the reality of nature on more cogent, viz., epistemological, grounds. Having put Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Kant and others, who are more or less allied to them, under searching criticism, Prof. Pringle-Pattison has tried to show that a trans-subjective world needs must be acknowledged, if knowledge is not to frustrate its own purpose and all speculation for establishing a true Idealism is not to dwindle into a *reductio ad absurdum*. An 'epistemological Realism,' as Prof. Pringle-Pattison calls it, is alone the surest guarantee of metaphysical Monism—a spiritual Monism which is the aim and aspiration of all sane and sober Idealism. When this is admitted in right earnest a metaphysical Realism could easily be beat with its own weapon. An ill-advised Idealism, that seeks to evade this 'epistemological Realism,' is bound to relapse into an irreclaimable Scepticism or Solipsism, a crucial evidence of which is to be found in the writings of Locke, Berkeley, Hume and others. By the denial of 'epistemological Realism,' Realism is 'left in possession of the field.' It is, says Prof. Pringle-Pattison, "*only* in virtue of epistemological Realism that we can avoid Scepticism and so much as begin our journey towards metaphysical Idealism" [*Balfour Lectures on Realism*, p. 178]. Upon this view, the much abused secondary qualities become as much real as the supposed primary ones. It is through an unwarrantable—rather, an illegitimate abstraction—that they are viewed as subjective.[2]

[1] Prof. Pringle-Pattison seems to have taken 'Nature' both as equivalent to the entire 'cosmic process' and also as comprehending only the non-human world. Our task is not so much to consider his treatment of 'Nature' in the former sense as to understand it in the latter sense.

[2] Prof. Bosanquet may be quoted in comparison. Prof. Bosanquet writes: "If the world apart from knowledge has no secondary qualities, it has hardly anything of what we care for. It is not recognizable as our world at all" [*Logic*, 2nd. edition, vol., ii, p. 308].

But that is not all. What can be asserted of the secondary qualities may with equal reason be said of the 'tertiary' qualities—'the aspects of beauty and sublimity which we recognize in nature' and that 'finer spirit of sense' that is revealed in poetic vision or in artistic excellence. "These things also are not subjective imaginings; they give us a deeper truth than ordinary vision, just as the more developed eye or ear carries us farther into nature's refinements and beauties" [*Idea of God*, p. 127].

The 'epistemological Realism' of Prof. Pringle-Pattison at once leads to the question as to the veracity of our knowledge. Admitted that every knowledge must have a trans-subjective reference or, more plainly, there is an objective counterpart over against the subjective, what is the guarantee that the object of knowledge is the real object that we assume to have known ? In other words, when an object is supposed to have been known, what is the warranty that the object in question has been known as it truly is ? Here the problem with Prof. Pringle-Pattison actually begins.

The question and the answer given to it at once lead us to the fundamental teaching of Prof. Pringle-Pattison. "The process of knowledge," Prof. Pringle-Pattison observes, "accomplishes itself, as a matter of fact, with perfect simplicity and naturalness; but philosophers have dug a chasm which cannot be bridged between the knowledge of the knower, conceived as a state of his own being, and the real thing which he knows, or rather fancies he knows" [*Idea of God*, p. 115]. The so-called difficulties which obsessed philosophers from Descartes up to those of our day and the varieties of Representationism, Subjective Idealism, Phenomenalism, Agnosticism or Sceptical Relativism, which they give rise to, are the illegitimate offspring of a gross mistake, viz., the arbitrary divorce of mind and matter from a unified whole where both are co-elements and where both are complementary to each other. In all those ill-conceived doctrines, Prof. Pringle-Pattison observes, "The subject is.....placed upon one side and the whole trans-subjective universe upon the other, and a chasm is made between them. The knower is practically extruded from the real universe; he is treated as if he did not belong to it, as if he came to inspect it like a stranger from afar. His forms of thought come thus to be regarded as an alien product with no inherent fitness to express the nature of things. Things are rather conceived as in themselves independent of these forms, so that the forms, when applied, are treated as an un-

authorised gloss, a distorting medium." Against all these he urges: "The knower is in the world which he comes to know; and the forms of his thought, so far from being an alien growth or an imported product, are themselves a function of the whole" [*Balfour Lectures on Realism*, p. 255].

It is quite evident that Prof. Pringle-Pattison insists on 'epistemological Realism' as strenuously as he denies metaphysical Realism. "A real metaphysical dualism," he believes, "would cleave the universe in two, leaving two absolutely non-communicating worlds. The possibility of knowledge becomes, on the other hand, the surest guarantee of metaphysical monism—of a unity which underlies all differences" [*Ibid.*, p. 256]. Prof. Pringle-Pattison has, more than once, distinguished 'epistemological Realism' from metaphysical Realism and has warned us again and again that the one should not be confused with the other. It will not be an exaggeration to say that his Balfour lectures were mainly devoted to show the absurdities of Realism as a metaphysical doctrine though however he has time and again reiterated that an 'epistemological Realism' needs must be maintained to "begin our journey towards metaphysical Idealism."

The position of Prof. Pringle-Pattison is, to express in Prof. Bosanquet's apt words, that it "is realist, but with a rationale incompatible with theirs." [1] However, the important point that we should take note of, is, I venture to say, not, as one of the critics of Prof. Pringle-Pattison says, that he has "never for a moment striven to divest himself .....of the preconceptions of the long dualistic tradition." [2] Rather, we should ask, whether he has really conceded anything to the physical world which he so triumphantly declares to have done while condemning panpsychism. The epistemological Realism of the modern Idealists, in truth, only acknowledges a *provisional* status of the physical world. All these Idealists at heart believe that

[1] J. Rahder in his Dutch article has opined that Prof. Pringle-Pattison "expressly and repeatedly attaches himself to the (neo) realists' theory of knowledge." I am indebted to Prof. Bosanquet for this significant information. Referring to J. Rahder's remark, Prof. Bosanquet writes: "You (Prof. Pringle-Pattison) take, I *thought*, very rightly and reasonably, the view that your position is realist, but with a rationale incompatible with theirs," (Letter written to Prof. Pringle-Pattison on Sep. 3, 1921; published in *Bernard Bosanquet and his Friends*, edited by J. H. Muirhead, p. 229).

[2] In reply to Prof. Pringle-Pattison's criticism of his panpsychism Prof. Ward has made a pungent attack on Prof. Pringle-Pattison's 'epistemological Realism.' While speaking on behalf of monadology which, he believes, avoids the 'Speculative difficulties' and brings 'the simplicity,' Prof. Ward has remarked that, even admitting the difficulty, Prof. Pringle-Pattison "has never faced it in grim earnest, never for a moment striven to divest himself—even while posing as a critic—of the preconceptions of the long dualistic tradition." (*Realm of Ends*. Replies to further Criticisms, p. 514).

if their Idealism must stand on a secure foundation, then the whole constitution of the world—the world to its last atom—must be consecrated and converted, we must not say 'to', but 'into' something that will not be strictly physical. The Idealists have rightly and reasonably insisted on the reality of the 'secondary' and the 'tertiary' qualities. But, unfortunately, the more they have advocated for them the more they have been oblivious of the other equally, if not more, fundamental qualities, viz., the 'primary' qualities. Hence, if it is said that the physical world has got 'flesh and blood' in the hands of those Idealists, it has got them at the cost of its own skeleton—a great price no doubt !

The difference between an idealist and a panpsychist is that the former's denial of the physical world is tactful and circumlocutory while that of the latter is blunt and outspoken. If, therefore, the Idealist really gives anything at all, it is merely a temporary gloss and nothing else.

It is a notorious fact that not only Prof. Pringle-Pattison but almost all the Idealists alike have never thought it of any significance to ask the primary question about nature, viz., how the physical world as *physical* has come into existence. Prof. James Ward, we admit, has tried to explain—of course, psychologically—the origin of nature. But that explanation is subjective rather than objective. The physical world may have various ulterior implications which the idealists would have us believe. The physical world may be ' a vale of soul-making,' it may be a ' school of virtue ' or ' the headquarters of the friend of ethical nature,' it may be something ' through which spirit attains incarnation,' or it may be ' a system by which the content of finite minds is defined and their individuality manifested.' But we are no less interested—nay, no less obliged, to explain the *origin* than to know the *nature* of Nature. Herein all the idealists have utterly disappointed us. The aspect of *physicalness* is, we venture to say, the first and the foremost problem that should occupy the attention of an earnest idealist. Mr. H. D. Bhattacharyya's weighty observations, with which he has concluded his thoughtful article entitled ' Idealism and the Physical World,' may be quoted here. " Our main conclusion," writes Mr. Bhattacharyya, " therefore, is this that Nature cannot be what any one of the three types of Idealism[1] we have discussed above thinks it to be. It is neither an

[1] The three types of Idealism referred to are Subjective Idealism, Spiritualism and Finalism.

idea in the mind nor itself spiritual nor amenable wholly to spiritual control. It is opposed to spirit in many ways although it is also associated with it at many points. The ultimate conjunction of Mind and Body is a mystery which refuses to be dispelled by the curious enquiry of man who himself embodies in his own constitution this mysterious combination. The aspect of materiality is just as real as that of spirituality and any attempt to whittle down the first aspect lands us in difficulties and contradictions. We may not be able to arrive at any finality regarding the ultimate nature of Matter just as we are far from knowing the ultimate nature of Mind; but no advance of human knowledge makes the assumption of the physical world superfluous. We shall not discuss how this world is known, whether directly or indirectly; but, howsoever known, it is always distinguished from mind and its laws of behaviour are not uniform with those of the latter. A world extended in space and composed of units related externally can hardly be reduced to a spiritual world perfectly organised or advancing with unerring precision towards a spiritual goal, even when it is partially subject to the influence of mind. Our final conclusion would then be that Idealism in all its forms has failed to do justice to the proper nature of the physical world and its independence of the mental aspect of reality The duality of Mind and Matter, if not their dualism, is a position beyond which it is not possible to go so far as the knowledge of man is concerned and it is with man that we have to deal in philosophical speculations if we are not to find ourselves in the cloud-land of fancy.' [*Proceedings of the Ninth Indian Philosophical Congress,* Poona, 1934, Part II, pp. 42-43].

Indeed, 'externality,' 'extension,' 'inertia,' 'impenetrability,' 'motion,' 'coerciveness,' etc., are the facts which, by no means, should be overlooked—nay, these are the facts that must be explained at the very outset if we are really in earnest about explaining the physical world.

Prof. Pringle-Pattison has rightly insisted that nothing is really gained but confusion and bewilderment if salvation in philosophy is sought through minimizing or denying the existence of the physical facts. But most unfortunately the way in which he has tried to explain the relation of man to nature lacks that kind of simplicity and lucidness which we are wont to associate with his writings. The

exuberant supply of suggestive, but not always concordant, metaphors and similes by the help of which he has attempted to explain the relation of man to nature leaves us in hopeless bewilderment. We are told that according to his contention "Mind is thus no more condemned, as it were, to circle round the circumference of the real world, put off with outside shows, and unable to penetrate to its essential core. Mind is set in the heart of the world, it is itself the centre in which the essential nature of the whole reveals itself" [*Idea of God*, p. 132]. The same thought has found expression in his earlier work. "In reality," he there observed, "the orderly sequence of physical facts which we call Nature cannot stand by itself. It only becomes intelligible in the light reflected upon it from the conscious spirit of man" [*Man's Place in the Cosmos*, 1902, p. 232].

We quite understand that unless 'mind' is admitted to be central in the very constitution of the world philosophy is doomed to degenerate either into a gross scepticism or into a blind mysticism. But if 'mind' is really "set in the heart of the world," how, at the same time, is spirit believed to be "the *terminus ad quem* of nature?" [cf. *Idea of God*, p. 200]. We may be allowed to quote a somewhat long passage wherein may be found many of the conflicting conceptions huddled together. "Our doctrine," says Prof. Pringle-Pattison, "as we have built it up, may be focussed in the saying that man (or mind) is organic to nature. The very phrase, it may be pointed out, implies the complementary truth of nature as organic to man, nature as the essential condition of finite mind. Internality is impossible without externality; a subject or a self would be an empty form, if it had not a world to draw on for its filling. Just as every living centre has its environment, which furnishes it with the material which it transmutes and builds into the fabric of its own life—so that it is only through its environment that it lives at all—so, still more obviously, the self of knowledge and action could have nothing either to know or to do, apart from the natural and social world of which it is at once the consciousness and the active organ. The world of nature and the world of social relations founded upon it constitute, as it were, the condition of individuation. And in emphatically repudiating the mechanistic scheme of physical science as a self-existent, underlying reality, of which everything else is the inexplicable outcome, a spiritual philosophy which is sure of itself feels no temptation to deny or to minimize the mechanical aspects of the cosmos on which its higher life reposes. On the

contrary, nature, as a realm of inviolable law, appears, so far as we can see, to be the necessary condition of the life of intelligence and reasonable action" [*Ibid.*, pp. 178-179].

Let us take the several ideas one by one. We may agree that Prof. Pringle-Pattison is right in so far as he has built his doctrine on the organic relationship of mind and nature. But what does he mean by the expression "nature as the essential condition of finite mind"? The next sentence may throw some light on this. "Internality," it is said, "is impossible without externality." This and the following observations seem to uphold that mind can never exist without a world that environs it and of which it, in some mysterious way, is said to be the 'living centre'! We are told that (*i*) "a subject or a self would be an empty form, if it had not a world to draw on for its filling." (*ii*) "The world of nature and the world of social relations founded upon it constitute, as it were, the condition of individuation." (*iii*) On the mechanical aspects of the cosmos, the higher life of a spiritual philosophy 'reposes.' Lastly, (*iv*) "nature, as a realm of inviolable law appears, so far as we can see, to be the necessary condition of the life of intelligence and reasonable action." Elsewhere Prof. Pringle-Pattison has observed that "Man is the child of nature" [*Ibid.*, p. 156]. We need not pile up many other similar remarks. These are enough to bewilder us. It is one thing to say that mind is organic to nature; but it is quite another thing to say that nature is the essential condition of mind for its 'individuation;' for 'the life of intelligence and reasonable action.' What was once 'set in the heart of the world' is now degraded into something dependent for its existence on that in which it has been supposed to be central. But we have seen only half the difficulties. We shall have also to consider the problem from the side of nature to make them complete. "The self of knowledge and action" is said to be "the consciousness and the active organ" of the natural world We have also noted that he has emphatically repudiated "the mechanistic scheme of physical science as a self-existent, underlying reality, of which every thing else is the inexplicable outcome." But to see clearly the ambiguity and inconsistency inherent in the conception we present some more passages which are relevant in this connection. Speaking of values which, according to him, must always be conscious values, Prof. Pringle-Pattison writes: "Hence it is that the sentient and, still more, the rational being appears as the goal to which nature

is working, namely, the development of an organ by which she may become conscious of herself and enter into the joy of her own being."[1] "The intelligent being," he writes, "is, as it were, the organ through which the universe beholds and enjoys itself."[2] Prof. Pringle-Pattison finds no other explanation possible "of the evolution of the sense-organs unless we assume the reality of the new features of the world to which their evolution introduces us. The organism is developed and its powers perfected as an instrument of Nature's purpose of self-revelation."[3]

Now we may try to understand the relation of nature to man in the light of all that have been presented here. It is not very difficult for one to note that 'mind' which, we are more than once told, has been "set in the heart of the world" is now dragged out of its central position and placed at the last end of the evolutionary process. Indeed, this, at all events, must be admitted if Prof. Pringle-Pattison has to maintain strictly his naturalistic position. Now, if this be the fact, then there certainly was a time when the world was *without* 'mind,' be it even as a world, which he described in Laurie's words, "waiting for its meaning—an uncompleted circle waiting to be closed."[4] It will, however, be seen that by placing 'mind' at the end of the evolutionary process the problem is made all the more complicated. In order to save the continuity of the 'cosmic process' in which 'significant differences' are admitted to have emerged, Prof. Pringle-Pattison is led to an unwarrantable assumption. Nature, it has been assumed, is working for the development of an organ (in the shape of the sentient and, still more, the rational being), "by which she may become conscious of herself and enter into the joy of her own being"; or, which may be "an instrument of Nature's purpose of self-revelation."

Evidently, if we are to take these observations seriously we are to credit nature with a purpose of its own quite distinct from that which is ascribed to man. The question is: how to reconcile these two purposes? Man strives to realise his 'higher life' in and through nature, and nature, in its turn, seeks to reveal itself in and through man and thus enter into the joy of its own being. Prof. Pringle-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 212.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

Pattison is perhaps alive to the fact that in spite of all his endeavours he has succeeded little in explaining the unity of mind and nature. So we hear the note of resignation. " The unity," he writes, " of the cosmos—in some sense—is not so much a conclusion to be proved as an inevitable assumption."[1] This remark was, of course, made long before his more famous works were published. But in his later works also we find the same position has been tacitly confirmed. A passage from one of his noted works is worth quoting here. " Ultimately," the passage runs, " no doubt, as I have said, if the larger idealism is to be maintained, the independence attributed to the material world cannot be taken as the assertion of its existence as a brute fact *per se*. It must be seen as an element in a whole, with a specific function within that whole. But how this real system of externality, on which as finite spirits we depend, is related to or included in an absolute experience, is necessarily dark to us ; for to answer such a question would mean to transcend the very conditions of our separate individuality."[2]

Another very puzzling passage may be presented here that defies all our effort to understand it. Referring to Kapila, the author of the great *Sāṁkhya* system of philosophy, whom he seems to have known as he has found him in Prof. A. G. Hogg's *Karma and Redemption*, Prof. Pringle-Pattison writes: " Spirit, we believe, therefore, is the *terminus ad quem* of nature. As it has been finely expressed by an Eastern thinker, ' all external things were formed that the soul might know itself and be free.' Unconscious nature thus assumes the character of a means or intermediary towards an end, in so far as conscious centres of existence alone possess that degree of separateness and independence which would justify the term creation in their regard."[3] A detailed consideration of this will anticipate our next problem, viz., the relation of nature to God, but here we may make one or two observations. We have been accustomed to hear that nature is the essential and necessary condition of ' finite mind,' of the life of intelligence and reasonable action. It is now very difficult to understand that that which has been taken to be the essential *condition* of the very existence of

1 *Man's Place in the Cosmos*, p. 9.
2 *Idea of God*, p. 202.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 200.

something should, at the same time, be supposed to have assumed "the character of a *means* or *intermediary* towards an end." Further, it leaves us in hopeless bewilderment when, after so much insistence on the inseparability of man from nature and his rootedness in it, we are told that 'conscious centres of existence' "possess that degree of *separateness* and *independence* which would justify the term creation in their regard."[1]

We have seen that Prof. Pringle-Pattison's effort to reconcile man and nature has proved abortive. It remains now to see how he conceives the relation of nature to God and whether that conception places him in a more secure position. "The world of nature," writes Prof. Pringle-Pattison, "cannot be understood by an intelligent theist otherwise than as the ever-present working of a divine power."[2] "Everything else," he has expressed in one of his later works, "the whole material fabric is but God's medium, as it were, for the shaping of souls, and we need not involve ourselves in difficulties by thinking of it as something created independently and standing, so to speak on its own basis."[3] Upon this view, nature is subservient to God and the whole evolutionary process is rendered ancillary to God's purpose. We now ask: What becomes of 'nature's purpose of self-revelation'; of her striving to 'enter into the joy of her own being' for which we have been told time and again, 'the sentient' and even 'the rational being' was evolved as 'an instrument' or 'organ'? Man was first supposed to be instrumental to nature's purpose of self-revelation. Then, it was told, that nature's assumes the character of a means' in and through which spirit may 'know itself and be free.' Then we are told that nature is God's medium for the shaping of souls. But we have not yet heard the last word of Prof. Pringle-Pattison so far as the relation of nature to God is concerned. Nature is not merely God's medium for the shaping of souls. "The objective world," we are further told, "is a creation, or rather, as we have said, a revelation in and to them (*i.e.*, conscious existences)."[4] As to what is revealed, Prof. Pringle-Pattison does not leave us in doubt. The world, it is said, 'reveals in and to finite spirits the infinite riches of the divine life.' Not only does nature reveal but it seems to represent the 'Universal Life.' "God," we are assured, "then, becomes an abstraction if

1 Italics mine.
2 *Balfour Lectures on Realism*, p. 257.
3 *The Spirit*, p. 17.
4 *Idea of God*, p. 309.

separated from the universe of his manifestation."[1] The divine life is essentially, I have contended, this process of self-communication. Or, to put it in more abstract philosophical language, the infinite in and through the finite, the finite in and through.....the infinite—this mutual implication is the ultimate fact of the universe as we know it. It is the eternal fashion of the cosmic Life."[2]

Let us see in how many ways we are taught to conceive the relation of nature to God. (*a*) The world of nature, it is said, should be understood " as the ever-present working of a divine power." (*b*) The whole material fabric is but God's medium for the shaping of souls. (*c*) The objective world is a revelation in and to finite spirits of the riches and grandeur of the divine life. (*d*) Lastly, the world represents the very divine life so that God becomes an abstraction if separated from it. Nature, evidently, was at first thought to be a medium brought forth solely for the moulding of souls. Then it was converted into a place of divine exhibition, as it were, designed by God himself for the purpose of revealing his infinite wealth and grandeur. So gradually the necessity is shifted from man's side to that of God. The existence of the world is at last found to be essential for God himself who becomes an abstraction if separated from the world. If this be the truth, what point can there be in crediting God with that virtue which now seems to be a necessity of his own nature ? We are not to consider the difficulties—nay, the absurdities, that all anthropomorphic conceptions of God involve. So far as we have seen, neither of the problems that Prof. Pringle-Pattison attempted to explain, has been explained as much satisfactorily as we reasonably expected. The genuine desire to show 'the unity of the cosmos,' which we find throughout his works, has perhaps got its final consolation in the words of resignation and despair quoted before.

With a more encouraging and confident outlook we may hope to explain the whole mystery. If, as Prof. Pringle-Pattison himself believes, 'mind' and 'nature' are organically related to each other so much so that one is nothing without the other, would it be very difficult to understand that the Real is neither 'mind' nor 'nature' alone? Would it not follow, then, that 'mind' is real as it is embodied in 'nature' and 'nature' is real in having 'mind' embodied in itself ? The Real is embodied Mind. The world is real in so far as it is pervaded through and through by Mind and Mind is real in

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 314 [2] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

having the world in which it is embodied. Queerly enough, we meet a passage which contains almost the same idea that we have tried to express, in one of Prof. Pringle-Pattison's earlier writings.[1] The passage has been quoted by the author himself in his *Hegelianism and Personality*. "And if now," so runs the passage, "we ask what is to be said of the self, we may most correctly reply that 'so far is it from being a figure of speech that the self exists only through the world and the world through the self, that we might say with equal truth the self is the world and the world is the self. The self and the world are only two sides of the same reality; they are the same intelligible world looked at from two opposite points of view'" [2nd edition, pp. 20-21]. It is most unfortunate that we should miss in his later works the profound truth that flashed in his earlier writing.

Now, as to our relation to 'nature,' the question solely depends on how we conceive ourselves to be. If, in the poet's words which Prof. Pringle-Pattison has made use of, man represents the dawn and not the day, the difficulties will gradually recede as we shall go deeper into the truth of the weighty utterances of the great poet.[2] 'Man' as representing the dawn must be 'man' as representing the day as the dawn must be the day. It moy be—nay, it is quite natural, that in the blurred and obscure light of the dawn many things will not be seen, and even many of those which are seen, will be seen in a perverted way. But all gloom will be dispelled, all perversions will be set aright, in the bright blooming light of the day. Nature, indeed, finds the joy—yes, the fullest joy, of its being in man—man as he really is,—as he represents the day and not the dawn.

A few words more in conclusion. It will be admitted even by the most enthusiastic admirer of Prof. Pringle-Pattison that there is hardly anything of first-rate originality and genius in his teaching. Nevertheless, the diverse elements which he has tried to combine in his thought and the manner in which he has sought to unify them have their own merit and will secure him the distinction in the speculative world which he most eminently deserves. We do not think that we are competent here to trace in their details all the leading sources which have contributed towards the formation and development of Prof. Pringle-Pattison's thought. Indeed, that will

[1] *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*, p. 38.
[2] Cf. 'The Dawn' by Tennyson, referred to in The *Idea of God*, pp. 110-111.

require a fuller scope than that which the subject we have discussed above can possibly afford us. Anyway, a general survey in that direction will not, we hope, be impertinent here.

Being a student and an ardent admirer of Prof. Campbell Fraser, Prof. Pringle-Pattison might have had a temporary fascination for Berkeleianism, or at least Berkeean theism, in his early philosophical life. But it is quite certain that ere long Berkeleianism proved to him as much unsatisfactory as the prevailing English empiricism. The demand for a 'searching intellectual criticism and impartial debate' that was made by him had a deeper force working behind it. It was the influence of German Idealism which had been, by that time, much more popularised by the works of keener and more penetrating students like Edward Caird and T. H. Green than by Hutchison Stirling's pioneer work, *The Secret of Hegel*. Thanks to Mr. G. F. Barbour's 'Memoir' of Prof. Pringle-Pattison, we find a pretty good account of his scholarly life during his two years' sojourn [from 1878 to 1880] in Germany. We are told that "eight volumes of Fichte joined the Kant and Hegel on his bookshelf, and occupied much of his time through the early months of 1880" ['Memoir,' p. 28, in *Balfour Lectures on Realism*]. That his thought bears many German engraftments may be noticed even by a casual reader of his works. The intensely ethical character of his thought shows the deep and pervasive influence of Kant and Fichte. His treatment of nature in relation to God which we have discussed above is perhaps the most striking illustration of Hegelian influence on him. Nature as the 'manifestation' of God; or 'the eternal fashion of the cosmic Life'; being 'the infinite in and through the finite, the finite in and through the infinite',—these ideas, as we have seen, and many other similar ones are undoubtedly and pre-eminently Hegelian. Prof. Pringle-Pattison's frequent references to Lotze in his later writings also show that Lotze too has not to an insignificant extent influenced him. But however much he might have been attracted by German Idealism it is an undeniable fact that he has never been reconciled with German Idealism. He found Fichte 'growingly unsatisfactory' and Hegel's *Logik*, 'an utterly inhuman book,' and expressed in a letter to Stalker, his friend, that he might be found 'much more Hegelian in tone' than he had been, and even dared to say that "Hegel did not know everything" [cf. 'Memoir', p. 30, in *Balfour Lectures on Realism*.].

Prof. Mackintosh, speaking of British Hegelians in *Hegel and Hegelianism*, has found in Prof. Pringle-Pattison a 'disciple' becoming a 'confessed and resolute critic of Hegelianism.' Speaking of *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*, which Prof. Pringle-Pattison edited jointly with Mr. R. B. Haldane, Prof. Mackintosh has observed that "in some respects this book records the high-water mark of the Hegelian tide, at least in Scotland" [p. 114], while *Hegelianism and Personality* of Prof. Pringle-Pattison, according to him, is memorable for a severe check to the Hegelian influence" [p. 115]. Though however we do not see so much in Prof. Pringle-Pattison as a 'disciple' becoming a 'confessed and resolute critic,' still, we are bound to say that whenever we go through *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*, his Hibbert essay, *The Permanent Results of the Kantio-Hegelian Philosophy* (which, before its publication, was re-titled as *The Development from Kant to Hegel*), and *Hegelianism and Personality* one after another, we really notice a perceptible change in the attitude of the author. It is perhaps to justify his new position that Prof. Pringle-Pattison has himself quoted one passage (which we have referred to and commented on above) in *Hegelianism and Personality* from *Essays in Philosophical Criticism* and in a foot-note tells us that he 'did not sufficiently recognise the limitations' of the view he was advocating there (cf. *Hegelianism and Personality*, 2nd edition, pp. 20-21 ; footnote on p. 21.

But whatever might have been his view at the early stage of his philosophical life and however much he might have been influenced by German idealists, his professed creed is 'theism,' or, more positively, Christian theism. In course of time theism exerted its influence upon him more and more pervasively till at last we find him a pronounced and most devout Christian. But his theocentric teaching has reconciled nature neither with man nor with God. How a personal God manifests himself in a world of nature, in what inscrutable way the finite individuals maintain their distinctive personality in the all-comprehending divine Life, and in what incomprehensive manner the communication between God and the finite individuals is effected—all these remain an indecipherable mystery to us. In Prof. Pringle-Pattison we witness that deplorable triumph of ecclesiastical hegemony over philosophical freedom which, despite all pretension to the contrary, is still playing the same havoc in many of our speculative philosophies as it did in the pre-Reformation days.

STUDY OF ANGLO-INDIAN LITERATURE IN INDIA

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BY Anglo-Indian Literature we mean roughly speaking literature produced by the Europeans, particularly Englishmen, in their brief stay of official life in India, or a traveller's account written in English, in its limited sense Anglo-Indian Literature takes note of only that particular branch of literature which is written by Eurasians only and not of people such as Englishmen domiciled in India or who stay in India for a considerable time and are sometimes known as Anglo-Indians, the view which Mr. K. E. Wallace of Hoare Miller & Co., Ltd. Calcutta, takes of the subject. As such the field for the study of Anglo-Indian Literature is very narrow if confined to India and with Mr. Wallace personally I do not think it will offer any large scope for research or study of the subject. More often, under Anglo-Indian Literature are included all literary compositions written in English in India, whether by Englishmen or Indians, and it is left for the time to decide whether Indians who write in English would be in a position to obtain a place for themselves from the Britishers for enriching the wide field of English Literature from the inevitable unmerited uncertainty of their present position. Dr. Bhupal Singh, in his survey of 'Anglo-Indian Fiction' not only includes the novels describing the life of Englishmen in India but also in his comprehensive view of the subject does not exclude novels written by nationalities other than the English, and thus alone could the learned Professor applying the touch-stone of his scholarship, extensive study and labour, build a stupendous frame whose well-deserved recognition among scholars justifies its worth. Nevertheless, Anglo-Indian-Literature is of recent growth, a tiny niche in the great fabric of English Literature, an offshoot of the parent-tree, a seed of the present English stock which by constant nourishment, pruning, care who knows might one day claim a share of parental inheritance, though at present any reference to this form of Literature from any text-book of English Literature is conspicuous by its absence, probably due to the great paucity of

materials available on the subject or the inferiority and mediocrity of its productions not justifying a set standard of originality or to people's lack of interest in an obscure subject or to the temperamental prejudices of the ' high command ' of Literature, not allowing the latter to steal a march over it, or within the sacred precincts no violation of the orders of those in power allowed to one left to suffer from the consciousness of its inferiority, yet during the last few years some remarkable work has been done on this subject throwing light on the hitherto obscure and forgotten literary compositions by bringing them to the light of the world from their own or ancestors' archives or pigeon-holes and also a balanced and systematised study of the subject which alone deserves praise. These works, an account of which I propose in this short essay, are a mile-stone on which future generations of students on the subject needs base their reflections and an acquaintance with this form of writing thus acquired will, in all likelihood, provide sufficient proof for an average Englishman's attachment to the subject. My essay is a criticism of the critical writings on Anglo-Indian Literature.

In ' The Calcutta Review ' of 1855 is extended a promise expressing the wish that " a full list of them all (Anglo-Indian writings) could be made out and continually supplemented as occasion required. A dictionary of Anglo-Indian Writers, or a history of Anglo-Indian Literature, would form a subject of immense interest and instruction not merely to the griffin or the litterateur, who makes India and Indians his interested or idle study, but to the student who wishes to turn over a new page in the history of the human mind." In proportion to the gradually swelling ranks of the Anglo-Indian writers the critical writings are scattered and interspersed among the text of the various Indian periodicals and a thorough study of the subject supplemented by visits to some of the famous libraries of India, *viz.*, Punjab Public Library, Imperial Library, Calcutta, Calcutta University Library, Allahabad Public Library, etc., only a few, would claim from a scholar. The work done in India on the subject is hardly compatible with its large output within recent times. Even in England the student is baffled in his attempt to trace the trends of Anglo-Indian Lit in his inability to find works of reference, for with the exception of Edward Farley Oaten's article on Anglo-Indian Literature in " Cambridge History of English Literature " and " Anglo-Indian Literature " of the same author, the Le Bas Prize Book or Sir Henry Sharp's essay on ' Anglo-

Indian Verse " wherein he traces the course of Anglo-Indian Poetry through two centuries from Warren Hastings to Rudyard Kipling and of the three examples or topics with which it mainly dealt—India's Religions, India's Romantic past, Europeans' everyday life in India—he suggests that the latter two topics had inspired the most characteristic examples, there is hardly any reference to this form of Literature anywhere in the whole range of the Histories of English Literature. How deplorable is the carelessness of the British critics to amputate one important arm of its Literature when at least some examples, if not all, deserve to be included and invite comparison with any best productions of the parent-stock, and Prof. Amararath Jha, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad, reviewing the first published novel on an Indian subject from the Oxford University Press in the " Leader " said that in the midst of the bewildering maze of abstract and mental analysis which have divorced fiction from interesting facts of everyday life, Philip Russ' " Hussein," a novel dealing with Indian life, would continue to sustain the average reader's interest in the vivid presentation of life through the medium of novel. And though the decay of Anglo-Indian Verse, partly due to the glamour of Empire being dimmed by prosaic constitutional changes, is imminent, the torch of Anglo-Indian Literature is to be kindled at some other altar and has been done already, for from a close study of the " Times Literary Supplement," especially from 1935 to 1938, I have formed an opinion that the publication of Anglo-Indian novels during the period has been proportionately large. The total neglect of the study of Anglo-Indian Literature ought not to discourage a student, though encouragement there had been none, for out of displeasure shoots forth pleasure, out of forgotten loyalties spring forth loyal friendships and out of darkness a ray of light.

I have mentioned that some work has already been done. If we care to search compact works of Indians, we are sure to be frustrated in our attempts, for such works, if they exist, are only in the form of pamphlets, the only information on the subject that one may hope to find, is in the worm-eaten periodicals in some of the Libraries. Such information is only a faint shadow of the hitherto lacking critical treatises, though they help one sometimes to form a back-ground of the subject. Among the Indian periodicals ' Calcutta Review,' in the words of Dr. Bhupal Singh, " is a repository of information, specially for the earlier Anglo-Indian Publications," more particularly

issues of 1844-1931. Not only are there reviews of Anglo-Indian writings, but essays and articles, sometimes derivative, sometimes original, dealing with certain problems connected with Anglo-Indian Literature ; S. W. Kaye's " Long Engagements," Major Vetch's " The Gong," Lt.-Col. Edward Money's " The Wife and the Ward," Meadows Taylor's " Seeta," Bankimchandra Chatterjee's " Chandra Sekhar," to name only a few, reviewed but interesting articles like " Englishwomen in India," The Anglo-Indian Question," " The Real Major Gahagan," P. R. Krishnasvami's " Sir Walter Scott's ' The Surgeon's Daughter," Macpherson's " The Life of a Memsahib in a Muffasal,' " T. O. D. Dunn's article on " Meadows Taylor," which would interest a reader for their close study. Among the articles which deserve special mention are Oaten's " Anglo-Indian Melancholy" wherein the author analyses the " Exile's Lament " in the " Land of Regrets," the sadness which seldom escapes an Anglo-Indian Writer, Prof. Dewan Chand Sharma's well-studied and delightful paper in his characteristically simple style, " Indian Writers of English Prose." In his paper though he acknowledges the inferiority of much of the English Prose by the Indians, yet he defends the Indians with sound arguments from his experience of the usual charge of " Baboo Eng lish " and argues that from the mass of writings in prose in India may be selected certain passages which might challenge comparison with any piece of good prose writing in England. Regarding Kiran Nath Dhar's ' Some Indian Novels ' I quite agree with Dr. Bhupal Singh, that " much of its substance is based on Mr. Oaten's book, A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature." Prof. Das Gupta's two articles, " The East in English Literature," specially deserve mention for an exposition of interest which the East excited in the minds of English-men either by means of a study of the extant travel books or personal visits or talks or correspondence of friends in India or an imagined statement of facts about India in confidence. Principal Seshadri's work in this branch of the subject, is valuable and the Hindu University Magazine, 1926, has an interesting article from his pen, " Some Indian Associations of English Literature " and his erudite paper contributed to the " Malaviya Commemoration Volume," " Some Indian Poems of English Poets," traces in his facile and simple style the influence of India in the poetry of Keats, Shelley, Moore, Leigh Hunt and from them to Elizabeth Barret Browning, Mrs. Hemans, Robert Browning, Tennyson, Alfred Donnat, Ruskin,

Dobell, Oscar Wilde, William Watson, Sir Henry Newbolt, Francis Doyle, and among the American Poets, Emerson, Walt Whitman, James Russell, it ends with a ring of despair, " it may perhaps be said that none of the poems, English or American, display any profound insight into Indian Life, and it is not surprising, indeed, when we remember that the inspiration has been in all cases only from books or from secondary references." ' The New Review ' of March, 1936, has an article from the pen of a young poet, Professor V. N. Bhushan, who has already won for himself a place in the heart of some Indians at least by the publication of his no less than four or five collections of verses, " The Ganges in Anglo-Indian Poetry," in which the writer eloquently describes the part played by the Ganges in the inspirational development of Anglo-Indian Poets. Beside pointing out the numerous references to the Ganges in the writings of foreigners as in Keats's " Endymion," and Mrs. Browning's " A Romance of Ganges," in French, Voltaire and Maupassant, in German, Heine, in Russian, Boris Pasternak, he traces the course of the river's spell on the minds of the writers who came to India and lived here, and how from Bishop Heber, H. M. Parker, D. L. Richardson, Captain Macnaghten's Major H. B. Handerson, W. F. Thompson to Miss Emma Roberts, H. H. Wilson, the poets were inspired by the enchantment cast on their minds by the river.

From articles and essays to systematised books is no difficult step and it is not surprising to note that Indian mind was not merely satisfied with the writing of critical literature in scattered form but essayed works which if carried to a remarkable stage of critical development would not fail to assign them a place in the History of English Literature, knowing that Anglo-American writers, Anglo-Irish writers form a subject of recognition by Englishmen ; why not then the Indian Critics, who are devoted to extend the bounds of Indian Scholarship in this branch of study. Principal Seshadri's " Anglo-Indian Poetry," now out of print, more a pamphlet than a book proper, sketches the history of Anglo-Indian Poetry from the earliest to the present day. Sacrificing no details in affecting brevity, it was a remarkable anticipation of what Dr. Roy of the Dacca University attempted later to supplicate it, ' Anglo-Indian Poetry,' for the Doctor of Philosophy of the London University. Before sailing, the latter, as far as I know, collected materials and studied in India, supplementing his studies here with regular course of study

in the India Office and British Museum Libraries as a research student of the London University. His work is not published. May it not be forgotten that Oaten's ' Anglo-Indian Literature ' has perforce been the product of spare hours snatched from ordinary university routine, and though he acknowledges that a life-long acquaintance with India and Indian authors would be necessary to find the essay based on an entirely original reflection and judgment yet Oaten's stay in India as a Professor of English Literature in some college of Bengal made the writing of the book possible ; Sencourt's ' India in English Literature ' is the result of a study not only of great names, of books rarely read and of unearthed manuscripts, but also of India herself, for three years the author toured and travelled in India and lectured and examined for one of the Indian Universities, sometimes enjoyed the warm reception of friends and the hospitality of the princes and sometimes falling back upon his own resources. So, whatever little work was done by an Englishman in this branch of study, it is saturated with Indian atmosphere, for no book could have been possible without visiting India, and the study of ' Anglo-Indian Literature ' is specially meant for the Indians whose life-long traditions and association with India and her life will enable them to judge disinterestedly how the lovely poetry of the Indian scenes, how India's past, no less than the present, how India's religions have been painted by the foreigners. Also as an example of criticism of one author or one poet, Mr. Seshadri's ' John Leyden ' is a book which deserves mention. It deals with Leyden, ' the lamp too early quenched,' his life in relation to his poetry and will serve a milestone for the student of Anglo-Indian Literature. Dr. Dunn's ' Poets of the John Company ' written in India during spare hours from his duty as an Inspector of Schools of the Presidency Division, Bengal, is an authoritative anthology with a suggestive Introduction of earlier Anglo-Indian Verse and may fruitfully be employed by those who wish to dive into the depth of Anglo-Indian Poetry. Mr. F. B. Bradley-Birt's edition of De Rozio's poems is of great help. De Rozio's work is little known. Mr. Bradley-Birt's effort, supplemented by Prof. Oaten's, rescued this poet from oblivion and now at least we know of him not little. Both the latter work are fine products of Englishman's assiduity and scholarship, and since the survey glances at the study of Anglo-Indian Literature in India they come in. Another book of the recent times, Lotika Basu's ' Indian Writers of English

Verse,' published by the Calcutta University Press, is quite novel in conception and intimately simple in treatment. In the words of Rabindranath Tagore it " is an arresting record of the first reaction of Indian mind to the spirit of modern literature reaching us through the great English writers of the nineteenth century." In this book she critically examines the causes which led to this new impulse of writing verses in English, traces the growth of this particular school of poetry from the early writers like Kashiprasad Ghosh, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Govinchandra Dutt, Sasichandra Dutt, Romeshchandra Dutt, Behramji M. Malabari, T. Rama Krishna Pillai, to such selected writers of verses as Sarojini Naidu, Harindra Chattopadhyay, Manmohan Ghose, Aurobindo Ghose, leaving not that sublime and pathetic genius of Bengal, Toru Dutt, and the minor Indian poets as Principal Seshadri, G. K. Chettur, Thadani. The book needs a revision as many other poets have sprung up ; she ends her treatise by her general reflections on the subject, *viz.*, nature and bearings of this type of poetry, its value, influence of English Poetry on the Poetry of the Indians, a comparative survey of both and though, says she, " nations may rise ane fall ! The military conquest of India may become forgotten history. But as long as the Indian languages and literature endure they will bear in them the mark of this cultural conquest. When the time comes for reckoning spiritual and not material values (for the former only is of all time) it will be the pride of Englishmen that there has existed a soul like Manmohan Ghose who unmoved by the material splendour of England, has been stirred to the very depth of his being by the Thought and Literature of England and to whom England has been the land of cultural adoption."

But the crowning summit of Indian glory and scholarship is Dr. Bhupal Singh's ' Anglo-Indian Fiction,' on whom the University of Punjab has conferred the Doctor of Letters as a mark of recognition of the merit of the book. It is the *magnum opus* of the study of Anglo-Indian Literature ; it has been widely appreciated by scholars in India and abroad ; praised highly by the English examiners of the thesis ; the last word on ' Anglo-Indian Fiction ' to 1931 from the pen of this Indian Scholar ; what the publication of Edward Farley Oaten's " A Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature " did for Anglo-Indian Literature in general in 1908, Dr. Bhupal Singh's " Anglo-Indni Fiction " has done for Anglo-Indian Novel in particular. Dr. Bhupal

Singh's survey is a comprehensive study of Anglo-Indian Prose Fiction from 1811 to 1931, though some novels even after 1931 have been included, in its literary and social aspects. There is a full bibliography and also an index. His book as he himself says " is a criticism of the life of Englishmen and Englishwomen in India." Not only have dead authors been restored to life, manuscripts brought to the light of the day from the dusty oblivion of the past, new grounds traversed but as a thorough-going, systematic, well-designed, treatise it is the first of its kind in the history of ' Anglo-Indian Fiction.' Not only does the learned doctor point out the chief features of ' Anglo-Indian writers of fiction,' its division into periods, the typical structure of an Anglo-Indian novel, its subject, mood, misery of the married life as depicted in it, its ephemeral feature from the artistic point of view, something about the early Anglo-Indians, the 'quihais' of the early 19th century, the competition-wallahs, the social life of the Anglo-Indians in all its aspects, its imperialistic but isolated tone, its discriminate hospitality, its monotony, its snobbery, its melancholy, its conservatism, its calling hour, its social constitution, its indifference to religion, but also from meadows Taylor and other predecessors of Kipling to Rudyard Kipling and writers of the school, the writer valuates their works from the literary point of view. In the end the book notes those writers of Indian Fiction who have emerged in the twentieth century, writers who have written in English, nothing of others, whose novels have been translated from the vernaculars into English, persons like Miss Sorabji, S. K. Ghosh, S. B. Banerjea, Sir Jogendra Singh, Bal Krishna, T. Ramkrishna, Shankar Ram, K. S. Venkatramini, S. C. Dural, A. Subrahmanyam and Panchapakesha Ayyar, P. A. Madhaviah, Sir Hari Singh Gour.

Moreover, anthologies for the average reader, have formed a special feature of the study of Anglo-Indian Literature in India. In the " Bengali Book of English Verse " by T. O. D. Dunn, published by Messrs. Longmans, the author in collecting the work of Bengali writers of English Verse from Kasiprasad Ghose to Toru Dutt and Sarojini Naidu, answers those who would vote for the banishment of English Poetry from Indian school ; the same author's " Bengali Writers of English Verse " deserves mention for compiling an anthology though only one hundredth part of Anglo-Indian Literature. Mr. K. E. Wallace's project of bringing out an

anthology of Anglo-Indian Poetry should win the co-operation of all lovers of poetry. Mr. Wallace's anthology may not only be able to do as much as Dunn's " Bengali Book of English Verse " but may supplant the latter by a carefully collected anthology of this poetry. Mr. Wallace, as he wrote to me in a letter, is more concerned to get people to bring either their own or ancestors' writing out of their archives and pigeon-holes ; he is in the stage of collecting materials which he sends to his friend, Mr. Cedric Dover, who would be responsible for the selection and introduction of the anthology ; it will be published by Martin Secker and Warburg, Ltd., London ; we look forward to its publication eagerly as much of the confusion, and uncertainty attached to the phrase ' Anglo-Indian ' will be settled besides providing within the reach of every-one a ready anthology of Anglo-Indian Verse.

From the foregoing remarks the readers are made aware that though the study of Anglo-Indian Literature had run on traditional lines, the critical works that have sounded the gamut of Anglo-Indian Literature are meagre and though some of it is good, much of it is scattered ; but whatever small quantity of work has been done here is of no mean order. One has only to look to Dr. Bhupal Singh's ' Anglo-Indian Fiction ' to corroborate my remarks. The charge of superficiality held against it is an ancedote of the past, it is obsolete. Let the vestment of past opinions be shorn off ; foregone be left to the present. The cultural contribution of the Anglo-Indians in India is not small, not negligible, and let it be preserved in the proper form it deserves, yet the critical work done in India or in England has not kept pace in proportion to original contributions and to unravel the secret of the Indies a close application of Indian genius to the study of Anglo-Indian Literature is absolutely necessary, for the influence of India on English Literature has been no small one and in India—

> ' Never star
> Was lost here but it is rose afar?
> Look East where whole new thousands are,
> In Vishnu-land what avatar? '
>
> *Browning's Waring.*

THE MYSTICAL AND TRANSCENDENT ASPECT OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF SPINOZA*

MAKHANLAL MUKHERJI, M.A., P.R.S.

IT is not usually recognized that the philosophy of Spinoza, presented in a cut-and-dry logico-mathematical form, belongs not so much to the speculative as to the mystical type. His was a religious mind deeply earnest in its spiritual aspiration, which lived and moved and had its being in God. His philosophy with its exact definitions and axioms is only a medium by which he tried to recapture and to identify his intuitions into the spiritual world, so that by a coherent system some way may be established to restore to the world its lost horizon. The passion which leavened his soul was not a mere passion for truth, but a religious passion ; and his philosophic statements, so formally cold and exact as to sound almost dogmatic to a modern mind, still breathe the rare, sanctified air of spiritual life and never fail to evoke a quivering response in a kindred soul.

Spinoza is speculative or reflective in so far as he tries to interpret the contents of spiritual experience in conceptual terms which are formally absolute. So his method, in spite of its formal aspect, has a deep root in his spiritual experience—in the feeling of vanity of all things of the world and in the consequent recognition of, and communication with, something which, though immanent as truth in the pure thought of human understanding, yet remains the transcendent or the " ineffable " as such, the eternal object of infinite love and wonder and worship. Reality in its divine quality is the one and unique object of desire, the attainment of which will tranquillize the eternal unrest of man for perfection and peace. The " wholly other " or transcendent—the meaning of spiritual experience—is eternally actual and significant in the absolute affirmation of pure Being without the necessity of a denial of an other. But our thought, which is always relative, can only grasp the transcendent meaning in its self-contained unity in and through the immanent necessity of the concept, and the uniqueness

* Read before the Philosophy Section of the Second Indian Cultural Conference.

of meaning, that was apprehensible in its own right by intuition, *i.e.*, by ' absolute thought ' as an eternal function of the mind, is replaced by a mediating concept by mind in its finite mode of conception whose sole aim is to deal intelligibly with the intimations of reality in an objective, universal and necessary manner. For this it finds nothing nearer by which to characterise reality as revealed in spiritual experience than the logical essence which is eternal in its perfection or reality without the necessity of overcoming non-existence. All other essences, while seeking for their manifestation, have to overcome non-existence in a more or less stable manner ; but this causal or passive aspect is foreign to the logical essence which stands fully revealed in itself in a spontaneous, irrepressible assertion. This is because the logical essence involves the mind or spirit in a pure act without the sense of activity, which can only be conceived abstractedly in the pure, though quantitative, forms of mathematics. This compulsion of thought in its conceptual and logical aspect has found typical expression in the so-called geometrical method of Spinoza. But to emphasize this method as literally geometrical, and thus to finish with it, is to ignore the true spirit of Spinoza and seems like reading his philosophy backwards. The true insight into his method will rather be found in his essay on ' *The Improvement of the Intellect* ' where by way of intimate self-revelation he speaks thus of his philosophic method :

" After experience had taught me that all things which take place in ordinary life are vain and futile, and when I saw that all the things I feared, and which feared me, had nothing good or bad in them save in so far as the mind was affected by them ; I determined at last to inquire whether there was anything which might be truly good, and able to communicate its goodness, and by which the mind might be affected to the exclusion of all other things ; I determined, I say, to enquire whether I might discover and attain the faculty of enjoying throughout eternity continual supreme happiness.....The love towards a thing eternal and infinite alone feeds the mind with a pleasure secure from all pain. The greatest good is the knowledge of the union which the mind has with the whole of nature.....The more the mind knows, the better it understands its forces and the order of nature, the more it understands its forces or strength the better it will be able to direct itself and lay down the rules for itself, and the more it understands the order of nature, the more easily it

will be able to liberate itself from useless things; this is the whole method."

The above passage brings into clear relief the ideal that Spinoza sought to attain in his philosophic method. The true method of philosophy must not only yield the highest intellectual satisfaction, but it must be at the same time a spiritual discipline in abstraction or concentration, and he uses the baffling phrase, 'intellectual love of God' to point to the complete fusion of theory and practice in the attainment of the true knowledge of God, which is nothing other than God Himself. A philosophy which is merely speculative has failed in its purpose which is to produce a harnessing of all our faculties in the service of God which alone can lead to the ineffable bliss of realization. Similarly a mere desire for something vague and indefinite cannot yield a sufficient motive to possess it unless we know it to be such that it will add to our happiness. So the philosophic method must combine both the aspects of true knowledge in its ideal as well as in its achievement and the geometrical method of Spinoza is only an analogical expression of his synthetic mode of approach to reality. Spinoza is not blind to the defects of the mathematical method, for he remarks in one place of his Ethics that it "sees all existence abstractedly as a certain form of quantity." But the standard of verity of the mathematical method had much to commend itself to his acceptance for several reasons. First, the mathematical method deals with the intelligibility of the concepts not in the spirit of seeking for a final cause as their explanation, but solely in their adequacy and necessity. It is therefore characterised by a disinterestedness, universality and objectivity, and these criteria of mathematical knowledge are fittingly and pre-eminently reflected in the mystical experience of the Deity. For Spinoza the mystical experience is not a mere fleeting succession of inward spiritual experiences, but consists in a sustained faith in something which owes nothing of its reality to any subjective activity of the mystical consciousness. In this Platonic view of mathematical knowledge as having an objectivity which owes no part of its reality to the activity of the consciousness, Spinoza is realistic and mystical. In the second place, with Spinoza mathematical thought was not conceptual, but intuitional in its realization of the union of essence and existence. This is evident from the mathematical illustration of ratio that he employs to convey the distinction made out by him of opinion, conception and intuition. Hence the Geometrical

method of Spinoza needs no apology, and no greater injustice can be done to his philosophy than to misunderstand the true function of this method in his Ethics. It was not simply because he was outrageously fascinated of Mathematics or because he could not overcome the predilections of his age, which was obsessed in Mathematics, that Spinoza pursued this method ; it was a bare necessity of his thought to do so. This necessity becomes all the more dominant and pressing when along with Spinoza the speculative metaphysician we take account of Spinoza, the 'God-intoxicated' mystic. Dr. Durant's apposite remarks on this mathematical aspect of Spinoza's philosophic method will bear repetition in this connection: " To our more loosely textured minds the result (of his method) is an exhausting concentration of both matter and form ; and we are tempted to console ourselves by denouncing this philosophic geometry as an artificial chess-game of thought in which axioms, definitions, theorems and proofs are manipulated like kings and bishops, knights and pawns ; a logical solitaire invented to solace Spinoza's loneliness. Order is against the grain of our minds ; we prefer to follow the straggling lines of fantasy, and to weave our philosophy precariously out of our dreams. But Spinoza had but one compelling desire—to reduce the intolerable chaos of the world to unity and order. He had the northern hunger for truth rather than the southern lust for beauty ; the artist in him was purely an architect, building a system of thought to perfect symmetry and form."[1]

Again, Spinoza's conception of the body which is a mode of extension as an 'adequate idea' implies the positive or practical aspect of his mystical teaching. Spinoza means by an 'adequate idea' that " which in so far as it is considered in itself, without relation to the object has all the properties or intrinsic marks of a true idea." Thus the adequate idea of the body is the feeling of detachment or freedom from the perceived body. Similarly the adequate idea of the desires will be the feeling of freedom from the object which inspires the desires and this sense of freedom is attained as a result of the true knowledge of the object that the desires involve. This 'adequate idea' of the body as a perceived fact gives a foretaste of the power of mind to free itself also from the felt body and this initial freedom is the *sine qua non* of all spiritual activity. It is from this experience of spiritual discipline that Spinoza comes to the conclusion that our

[1] *The Story of Philosophy*, p. 186.

body is no other than ' *objectum mentis*,' for, the feeling of freedom or power in the idea of the body from the body as a perceived or a felt fact is the first act of consciousness—the true relationless subjectivity, the reality which from the standpoint of thought is altogether thought.

Spinoza identifies the will or emotion and the intellect strictly from the standpoint of *sub specie aeternitatis*. God's power of thinking is nothing other than His realized power of action and a significant corroboration of this is found even in the nature of an idea which has remained long enough in consciousness to pass over into action. So that the more a man partakes of the divine nature, his will and intellect, his thought and action, as imperfect expression of his individual ego, are transfigured and transcended in ' absolute thought ' which is nothing but the sense of revelation of the inner necessity of cosmic forces in their spiritual, rather than material, aspect.

It is also from that trans-human, spiritual standpoint that Spinoza declares for universal mechanism, for there is no other way of affirming God's infinite understanding. According to Spinoza there is no absolute value but God and such is also the verdict of final, ripened experience of spirituality. All purposiveness is foreign to the physical ranges of the universe ; they stand rooted in God which not only supports, but originates and contains the whole cosmic action in the eternal necessity of His nature. But to this dynamical aspect of universal flux corresponds the static aspect or condition of thought, when thought has no motive for action, but is only a theatre for pictured experience, enjoying all essences of things without any preference or discrimination. To enjoy this sense of widest freedom or peace is to share in the ' absolute thought ' or ' infinite understanding ' of God.

Spinoza's theory that ' all things are predetermined by God ' follows from the same dictate of spiritual experience to ' regard things under the form of eternity.' The sense of freedom of will is a mistaken notion that has taken possession of man by the undue emphasis on the individuality or personality of the ego. This individuality is, however, a circumstance of very little moment to the overflowing, universal consciousness, and this so-called personality in its physical and vital nature is being nullified by the interplay of incalculable forces every moment of its being. It is only when the will sheds off its egoistic impulses that it becomes divinely conscious

and in the knowledge that God's infinite power is being fulfilled everywhere and through all things, it realizes a conscious mastery over nature, being in direct contact with the divine in nature. This widest sense of serene power in tune with the infinite power of God is the final achievement of the spiritual being and Spinoza characterizes this stage of perfection of the inner man as the stage of blessedness.

This positive and mystical bearing of the philosophy of Spinoza does not, however, distort the metaphysical issue. On the contrary, his metaphysical conclusion is in perfect accord with his mystical intimation. For, as Baron Von Hugel puts it, "the thirst for religion is at bottom a metaphysical thirst, and the intimations of religion are, ultimately, metaphysical intimations." [1] There is nevertheless an interpretation of Spinoza whereby his philosophy in its speculative aspect is made out and out a philosophy of pantheism so that the mystical, transcendent note appears so foreign and discordant as to be completely out of place in his system. We therefore pass on to consider how far such an interpretation is justified, if justified at all.

Needless to say, the central problem of the philosophy of Spinoza is the idea of God. In God Spinoza realizes the perfection of essence and existence. This he expresses by saying that God is absolutely infinite, "containing in its essence whatever expresses reality and involves no negation." This essence, however, is not a concept that may qualify an object, but, as Bosanquet puts it, "it is the spirit of a living world and can only be an eternal truth as such a spirit." [2] Hence it follows that it is only in the eternal fullness or infinitude of existence that this essence or spirit can be fully revealed. This perfection or infinitude of God posits at the same time views or aspects of God. According to Spinoza the human intellect can know only two aspects of God, *viz.*, thought and extension. These aspects or attributes of God, as he characterizes them, while expressing God's eternal essence explain at the same time His eternal existence. Hence these attributes so simple, positive and infinite in their nature cannot in strict logic be defined. For, all logical definitions imply some sort of negation or determination and these attributes cannot be intelligibly

[1] *Essays*, ii, p. 207.
[2] *The Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy*, p. 81.

understood as being determined within any limit. These attributes may be spoken of and used in the sense of perfection. These attributes being perfect in themselves constitute at the same time the meaning of the object whose necessary expression they are. These attributes, therefore, are not qualities that characterize God in a more or less intimate manner, but they are the manifestation of the essence of God, of God as infinite power and so are completely immanent in the meaning of God. As Prof. McKeon expresses it: "Each attribute of thought or extension expresses the entire substance and that man can only know two aspects of God is an impediment not to his knowledge of God; it is a statement that to know God perfectly would be to be a perfect Being—only God can know the infinite attributes of God. Thought and extension are diverse aspects—they are active aspects—as it were of God in dynamic development of Himself, so that his manifestation in each is complete and separate from those in all other attributes. God is not something higher and more abstract than attributes; when you reach the attribute you have God."

So far, then, God, according to Spinoza, is the dynamical aspect of Substance as focussed in the infinite attributes Against this immanent aspect stands another aspect showing, as we have done already, the mystical trend in Spinoza's thinking, and this aspect requires a clear, commanding emphasis, if we are to reconcile some of the apparent inconsistencies in his system. It is the transcendent aspect of God as Substance. Substance, as Spinoza defines it, is 'that which exists in itself and for itself,' so absolutely independent as to make all predications of it appear as useless and imperfect. As Caird explains it: "A determined Absolute would be a partly non-existing Absolute. Hence it would seem that Spinoza is precluded from attaching any predicate or ascribing any attributes to his absolute Substance. To do so would be to conceive under the category of non-existence that whose definition affirms existence." Thus ultimately God being free from every negation and limitation is to be conceived as absolutely indeterminate. Herein, however, Caird finds the weakness of Spinoza's doctrine, which, according to him, lies in this that "his substance or infinite unity on which all things rest is not organic but abstract." But it is presumably to avoid this misunderstanding that Spinoza conceives the infinite unity on which all things rest to be not the Substance but God with His infinite attributes. Substance

as God-and-attributes is not abstract but concrete and individualized, rich in the fullness of Being. So that diversity, according to Spinoza, lies not in Substance itself, but in Substance or God in relation to the finite intelligence. Hence, it is true that with Spinoza Substance is not the synthesis of diverse and opposed elements in a higher unity. The Absolute or Substance as transcendent God is not a synthetic unity, but like the Brahman of Sankara is an identity, pure and simple. We must not therefore confuse the absolutely affirmative transcendent Substance with God of infinite attributes, which mar the indeterminate character of the Absolute, the Substance, in the determination that is the result of the actualization of the transcendent essence through the attributes in its relation to the human understanding.

Of course, in one sense we may equate Substance = God = Nature ; for if in nature and in God we take away their determinations, then in their existence and affirmation stands the Substance. We must here bear in mind the dictum of Spinoza that all determination is only partial negation, and not complete negation.

But in another sense there is a difference. We may put it thus. Substance is transcendent, pure and simple ; while in its immanent aspect it is *natura naturans* or God in relation to *natura naturata* or the material universe. This relation, according to Spinoza, is one of necessary, causal manifestation akin to that which the idea of geometrical figure bears to the various inferences that can be drawn from it. The nature of God as revealed in thought and extension shows God as infinite power. Spinoza's Substance is static Being, in Vedantic phraseology, *niskriya* ; while his God as manifested in Nature is active, is a Becoming. This Becoming is reflected in the persistency of all thought and movement. Thus in the system of Spinoza, God when transcendent is Substance ; God when immanent is entirely and truly identified with Nature in its dynamical, creative aspect.. So that when Spinoza says that God is the immanent cause of all things, he means that all things in however imperfect and scattered manner furnish some condition of revelation of God's essence and it is impossible to separate once for all the individual essences from each other and from the world in which they have their meaning and being. God as the eternal form or meaning of the creative, active Nature is the first cause because He is the first reason of the universe. And nature in its infinite creative possibilities and in its diffused animation

through all space and time, in its vital urge and cosmic inevitability truly reflects the infinite actualization of the perfection and intelligence of God in its eternal necessity.

Such, in brief, is the ontological conclusion of Spinoza. Accepting this view of his system, we must declare that an interpretation that makes Spinoza an out and out pantheist is wrongly one-sided in that it commits him to a serious metaphysical lapse to which a mind like Spinoza's could hardly condescend. The reason for such an impression passing current is that the transcendent is generally taken to mean the unknowable or the non-experienced as such. On the other hand the essence and core of mysticism, as of Spinoza, is that reality is knowable, though the conditions of its knowledge are different from the conditions of the knowing of an object of perception or of conception. The knowledge of the unconditioned is *sui generis* different from the knowledge of the conditioned. We know reality or the unconditioned in intuition when thought buries itself in a certain form of eternity, when the soul in an illumination of self-recognition becomes aware of its true nature. In ethics Spinoza from the beginning introduces such a trans-human, intuitional standpoint, and we are at once baffled and bewitched by its sudden splendour that casts a halo over the whole system. His philosophy really speaking is a system of discipline of the inner man towards this self-recognition—a '*darsana*' as we understand the term in Indian Philosophy. And we shall fail to enter into Spinoza's mind, unless we appreciate this higher, spiritual note of his philosophy and thus satisfy its relevant demand.

THE CONCEPT OF NON-VIOLENCE

A. C. Das

BY stressing once again the cult of *ahimsa* Mahatma Gandhi has of late caused quite a stir all over the country. The riots at Allahabad, Lucknow and Benares sometime back gave him an occasion to castigate Congress-men in general and the Congress ministry in the U. P. in particular for lack of adherence to the principle of non-violence. The use of force in quelling the rioters betrayed, according to him, a method and a mentality which he abhors from the core of his heart ; that is to say, the use of troops and police force in controlling frenzied crowds was not quite in keeping with the major Congress creed.

Non-Violence on the Spiritual Plane

There can be no two opinions about the fact that Mahatma Gandhi's life represents a very high level of spiritual development ; it has been amply demonstrated by his deeds, great and small. Whatever else may be said regarding *ahimsa* and all that, what we can safely say is that the urge to do violence to others in one form or another proceeds from our ego-sense. The moments at which we transcend the limitation of our lower selves are very rare ; we almost always think and understand things in terms of ego-centred life. The ego presupposes a relation of otherness between man and man, which taken in itself indicates violence even in an attenuated form. Violence may, however, be taken as an overt act of inflicting injury on others.

Every action has a reaction. This is true not only on the physical plane, but also on the psychological and moral planes. A truly non-violent man will not only refrain from doing violence to others, but also maintain a non-aggressive attitude in thought even when any violence is done unto him.

Some Illustrative Cases

There was once a saint who had gone away to take his bath leaving behind his begging bowl at the place of his temporary

residence, and returned to find a thief making off with his only possession. In sight of the saint, the thief dropped down the bowl and was hurrying away, whereupon the saint, far from being enraged, ran after him, not to give chase, but to give over to him what he so much coveted. There was also another *Yogi* who used to live about the bank of the Ganges near Benares, all naked with a bulging belly and a quaint look. No wonder then that he was something of an enigma to the people around him. So one day a very clever man came on him and cut a joke with him by pouring a sackful of pepper down his throat through his gaping mouth. And the result was that the man was almost dying from a burning sensation all over his body. He was then advised by a good soul to pour down the throat of his victim some maunds of curd in order to soothe the burning he had caused inside the saint's body by his act of folly. This he did, and he was forthwith relieved of his pain. Instances like this can be multiplied. Anyway, the fact that emerges out of it all is that in our actions there is such a thing as physico-moral causation.

Ordinarily reaction to action is worked by Nature through the media of distinct centres of origination. But when an agent becomes absolutely non-violent any violence done to him would rebound like a boomerang to the author of the violent act, showing thereby that Nature takes a direct hand in such a situation.

Non-Violence on a Collective Scale

On the other hand, if one is non-violent to his marrow, the usually violent nature of a being will cease to be violent before him and will be saturated with the feeling of love and fellowship. In the presence of saints and sages, we are told, even the ferocious animals become very docile and domesticated. So if Indians could all be non-violent in the strict sense of the term, Britishers would automatically cease to exploit them, or had they linked economic exploitation to other forms of violence, they would reap the evil effects of their deeds, which would in the long run defeat their very purpose. No wonder then, as Mahatma Gandhi himself declares, that non-violence being complete on a nation-wide scale, *Swaraj* could be attained in a year. The fact nevertheless remains that a nation of absolutely non-violent individuals is obviously Utopian. Nothing can be urged against the possibility of spiritual perfection in individual cases. But difficulty arises when we

try to secure it on a *collective* scale. Collective insanity is easy of attainment. A multitude is, however, seldom near that perfect degree of sanity or sobriety which the application of non-violence on a large scale will require.

It is not too much to say that there is not a second Mahatma Gandhi—though there may be many imitations of him—in the whole Congress camp.

Some Baffling Cases

Not only this: we may even bring in cases which call for an exact definition of non-violence. It is futile to try to prevent a tiger, for instance, pouncing on its victim by passive non-violent resistance. If any one thrust himself between the two, this act of his will constitute violence to the animal in question, which will avenge itself by breaking his neck first. Non-violence to be an effective instrument of righting a wrong presupposes a condition which is nothing short of the fact that the wrong-doer or wrong-doers are capable of appreciating the appeal made in that way. In default of that, infliction of physical pain must be an element in the method wherewith the sense of guilt may be brought home to the minds of the anti-social and the aggressive. It was only yesterday that Abyssinia was annexed by the Italians. The case of the Abyssinians would have been none the better if all of them, instead of offering a stubborn armed resistance, had put down their guns and offered themselves unarmed as a barricade against the advance of Mussolini's battalions; for warfare is, especially now-a-days, all brutal. There is scarcely anything human about it. The gunmen will make no scruple to shoot down meek weak people who are unarmed and helpless.

There are yet some situations of life which seem to be rather perplexing. At a place, let us suppose, a helpless innocent woman is found to be attacked and molested by a hooligan. A conscientious and dutiful person unlike other selfish passersby risks his life in attempting to rescue her, and in the course of the scuffle he administers such a blow to the assailant, as kills him outright. What should then be the verdict on the act of this man who does his duty there as a true citizen? If he is hauled up in court for trial, far from being penalized for his noble act, he ought to be amply rewarded for bravery and self-sacrifice. It may, however, be retorted that justice is one thing

and non-violence is another. It may be so, but it is yet to be settled whether the case in question comes under the category of violence or non-violence. Who is there on earth foolish enough to call an act of murder non-violent? For to all appearance he used physical force. The whole thing then turns on whether mere physical force inflicting injuries on others is sufficient to make up violence. Our ordinary experience does not seem to warrant such a generalization. A surgeon, for instance, gives lots of pain to his patient by driving his knife into the diseased part of his body even against his will and consent. But the physical pain is there only a way wherethrough much good in the long run accrues to the sufferer, and the surgeon in his act is separated by a long distance from the region where violence prevails. This is, however, not the solitary instance. Cases like this are many, though not countless. Magistrates, the police, executive officers, judges and other state officials have to administer, in the discharge of their respective duties, pain, physical, mental, or both, to the convicts and criminals. But as consciously performing their proper function these cannot be said to be sinning against God, nor can they be regarded as working against anybody; for they are doing their duties proper to their place—vindication of existing laws and their enforcement and administration of justice A law is intended to regulate the normal course of social life. But some laws, especially those which are to deal with criminality must provide for emergency measures which will prove equal to the situation which would imperil public peace and security. There is, therefore, need for a fresh formulation of the tenet of non-violence. If non-violence mean absolute lack of injury to another, even of the intention of it, it is possible only in an absolutely non-aggressive nature which can be evolved only at the highest point of spiritual perfection at which the ego is eliminated. But non-violence in this sense cannot obviously be adopted as an instrument of policy in politics inasmuch as patriotism is only another name for egoism. If, on the other hand, non-violence is still taken to be expedient there, it can be accepted only in a sense other than that. It cannot also be taken in the sense in which it is the basis of social life, that is, in the sense of tolerance.

There is undoubtedly a sense in which the term, non-violence, may, be used. It may mean nothing mystical, but a simple matter of fact, namely, self-restraint. One will be said to act non-violently when one will not attempt to hit back even under the greatest provocation.

And this represents a conflict between idea and instinct, and control over the latter by the former, and, for the matter of that, a highly developed rational power and moral excellence. Non-violence practised in this way may be of advantage in some situations, but cannot be prescribed as a general rule of conduct in all the different walks of life. To take only one instance, one fighting in self-defence cannot be charged with violence and lack of morality inasmuch as law is not loth to give its sanction to it.

Non-Violence as a Paradox

Non-violence as prescribed by the Mahatma may at first view appear to be a paradox. Non-violence the Congressites are following in their political struggle, as he says, is not the non-violence of the weak, but of the strong. What does he mean? Indians are admittedly physically weak, and it may seem that the non-violent method they have adopted is quite the natural consequence of their weakness. There is nevertheless a meaning that lies deeper. Mr. Ludendorff in his book, *Nation at War*, appeals to his countrymen to control their instinct for self-preservation for the sake of the nation, the whole of which they are parts. They are exhorted to risk their all, even their lives, if need be, for the good of the state. Indeed the instinct for self-preservation is a thing that often takes us away from noble courses of action, and the control of instincts may be manipulated for many good purposes. Whatever that may be, Mahatma Gandhi does not call his countrymen to any military mobilization which the German General had in mind. He, on the contrary, asks them to be on their guard against the said instinct and its offshoots, not that he wants to make weaklings of them, but because he has put the country in an *economic* war with the British.

It is quite natural in a man to react violently on an injury done to him. So in the majority of cases of strife, political or otherwise, violence is adopted as the means. Mahatma Gandhi with the vision of a saint saw in the weakness of the Indians a source of strength which properly tapped would win for them self-government. Their strength would consist in controlling impulses and the instinct that goad one to take to retaliation by counter violence. Hence the political end is to be achieved by legitimate and peaceful means. Whatever the details of Mahatma Gandhi's political programme, there are two

broad features thereof, which no one can miss. They are non-co-operation and non violence. The former aspect of his programme has now, I should say, been liquidated inasmuch as the Congress is at present working the constitution embodied in the India Act of 1935, in eight provinces. The second is complementary to the first. But the whole political horizon becomes misty when he introduces mysticism in the sphere of politics and the generalization he often makes about non-violence as a rule of life and as an instrument of administration does not quite square with the requirements of law, justice and the normal course of our work-a-day life.

FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL FINANCE IN INDIA: AN INDUSTRIAL MORTGAGE BANK FOR INDIA[1]

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THE defects and deficiencies of industrial finance in India chiefly relate to the lack of financial facilities during the development period and for extension, reorganisation and modernisation. The most serious gap existing in the financial machinery of the country consists in the entire absence of a suitable organisation for furnishing long term loans to industries on the security of their fixed assets. The system of managing agency which had played a very important part in the financing of industries in the country has no doubt catered for these particular financial needs of Indian industries to some extent. But the system has ungergone considerable degeneration in recent years. The modern managing agents have not been able to keep up the traditions of the system and have seldom possessed the attributes which made the system so useful in the past. Besides, the managing agency system of financing is open to a number of grave defects.[2] In the circumstances the future development of industrial finance in India does not lie there but should be sought in the establishment of a special machinery for providing the particular type of long term finance of which Indian industry is in need.

The question of establishing a special institution for solving the problem of industrial finance in India has been before the country for a long time. The necessity of setting up such an institution was stressed by the Industrial Commission as well as the Central Banking Enquiry Committee. But no action, except a half-hearted attempt in one or two provinces, has yet been taken on their recommendations. Their reports are resting in oblivion among the dust and cobwebs of the upper shelves of the Secretariat. In recent years the question of establishing suitable machinery for the long term financing of industries has engaged considerable attention in several countries. Whenever it

[1] A chapter from the writer's publication—"Industrial Finance in India." See the writer's article in the *Calcutta Review*, October, 1937

has been found that industries are unable to satisfy their long term financial needs from the existing sources, the desirability of filling the gap in the financial machinery by establishing a special organisation has been strongly recognised. When attempts are being made elsewhere to set up machinery specially designed for providing long term industrial finance, it is highly desirable that India should not lag behind. Her need for such an organisation is no less urgent than that of any other country.

What should be the model on which the future Indian institution will be framed? The task of choosing a model is not at all an easy matter and a great deal of the successful working of the organisation will depend upon the proper choice. During the last 15 or 16 years a variety of suggestions has been made. But most of these suggestions have failed to appreciate the functions and purposes of such a special type of institution, while others have had little practical value.

The Industrial Bank of Japan has hitherto been the only model before India. Whenever a pattern has been sought for the future Indian institution, Commissions, Committees and economists have invariably turned to Japan. Even the "foreign banking experts" who were invited to attend the deliberations of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee believed that Japan was the only country where a specialist institution specifically designed for financing industries existed.

A careful study of the structure and operations of the Japanese institution, however, has impressed us to reject the Japanese model for India. The loans furnished by this Bank are not truly long term and there is no statutory provision for amortisation except for ship mortgage loans. An institution furnishing such type of industrial loans will not fulfil the real need in India for long term industrial finance. Besides, it has combined issue business with industrial mortgage banking and has further added to it ordinary commercial banking. Such a mixture of banking functions is not desirable.

The Japanese Bank, though a singular instance of a specialised institution for financing industries in the pre-War days, is not to-day the one and only one of its kind engaged in long term financing of industry. In seeking a model for India we need no longer turn to Japan. During the post-War years in a number of European countries a new machinery has been evolved for satisfying the long term financial needs of industry. Industrial mortgage banking has been a very

useful and interesting experiment in industrial financing attempted by Finland, Hungary Saxony, Poland, etc.[1] A considerable measure of success has already been achieved there and the same experin ent may very profitably be made in this country. An institution closely modelled on the lines of these post-War industrial mortgage banks in Europe will be eminently suitable for the financing of industries in India. Its main business will be, as with its European *eonfrères*, the granting of long term amortisation loans against the mortgage of industrial real estate, land, factory buildings, machinery and plant, the necessary funds for the operation being obtained by issuing industrial mortgage bonds in addition to its own share capital.

All-India or Provincial Basis

In recommending the establishment of a specialised Mortgage Bank for furnishing Indian industries with long-dated capital the most important question that has to be decided is whether the proposed institution should be founded on an All-India or on a Provincial basis. The majority of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee decided in favour of the establishment of Provincial institutions. Their decision, in this connection, appears to be reinforced by the recommendations of a number of Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees for setting up "industrial banks" on purely Provincial lines. The most important single consideration that impressed them in favour of a Provincial institution instead of an All-India one was the anxiety to safeguard provincial interests. A persistent fear seems to have haunted not only the Provincial but also the Central Committee that in the event of a Central institution being established, the particular interests of the provinces would be neglected. A national centralised Institute could never be expected to possess the detailed knowledge of local conditions which the lending of mortgage loans requires. Independent provincial institutions, it was believed, would be much more useful in this direction than the Central Bank working through its branches and agencies. A Provincial institution would be able to take proper care of provincial needs and aspirations.

We have have, however, carefully considered all the arguments that have heen adduced in favour of the provincial institutions, and we are inclined to believe that the balance of advantage lies still in favour of the Central institution.

[2] See the Wri'er's article ' Industrial Mertgage Banks ' in the *Calcutta Rsview*,, June, July and September, 1934.

The main function of the proposed institute will be the issuing of industrial mortgage bonds. Now there are three essential elements in the mortgage bond, security, marketability and yield. A Central Bond Issuing Institute is calculated to promote the marketability and improve the security of the bonds decidedly in a greater degree than a Provincial institute. As regards marketability, it is clear that the bonds of the Central Institute, commanding an enormous amount of capital, having a well-known directorate and issuing a large number of these bonds, secured by a diversified parcel of properties all over the country, will provide a greater appeal to the investing public than the local small issue of a provincial institution. Such bonds will be sold both at home and abroad. Considering the extent of the capital market in India, it cannot be expected to respond quickly and easily to a number of separate bond-issuing institutions. The home market is not sufficiently strong to provide all the enormous funds that may be required for financing the various industries of the country. The foreign capital market must have to be tapped to obtain some of the necessary funds. The large national organisation will be better known and will command a much greater confidence than the smaller provincial institutions. The foreign investor is quite likely to be interested in a national issue secured by widespread mortgages, although he may not be prepared at all to invest in locally secured bonds. As regards investing within the country itself, there are undoubtedly some who will prefer local securities partly for sentimental reasons and partly because they feel they can have a personal knowledge of the undertaking and of those who are in charge of it. Thus the Madras investor may be quite willing to put his money in a glass factory in Madras but will be reluctant to take an interest in a Punjab glass factory. But there is another aspect of the question. Bonds issued by the Assam Industrial Mortgage Bank may not be touched in Bombay, Madras or Bengal. But if it were a Central issue, the investor in every province will be interested. A large issue of bonds by a Provincial Bank may not find a ready market, or may not find a market at all. Again, if the bonds are given any guarantee, that of the Central Government will undoubtedly inspire more confidence. The bonds issued by the Central Institute and guaranteed by the Central Government will enjoy a greater reputation both at home and abroad, and the requisite funds may be raised without much difficulty.[1]

[1] Discussions with Foreign Experts—Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, Vol. IV, p. 251.

As regards the question of security, it has a twofold aspect. It has in the first place reference to the relations between the mortgage bank and the owner of industrial enterprises and in the second place to the relations between the bank and the bond-holder. In the interests of the bank the loans granted will have to be safeguarded. It is also necessary that the would-be investors will have to be induced to purchase the bonds, by making them secure to the greatest possible extent. It is clear that the security of the bonds issued depends a great deal on the proper and scientific distribution of risks. With a Central organisation, the opportunity for diversification of risks will certainly be greater than with a local institute. It is a root principle of investment banking to achieve the maximum diversification of risks. There are two principal bases on which risks can be diversified, geographical and generical. It is evident that both these two forms of distribution can be obtained to the maximum extent in the case of an All-India Bank. So far as geographical distribution is concerned, the All-India Institute can reduce its risks to the minimum through careful selection of undertakings existing in different parts of the country. Different areas will be subject to different risks, because of different climatic, financial and industrial conditions.

If there is a depression in the main industry of the province, say the cotton industry in Bombay, the jute industry in Bengal, the sugar industry in Bihar or U. P., the provincial institutions which may have advanced heavily to their respective industries will be reduced to a helpless position. The majority of their borrowers will default and a considerable portion of their assets will be frozen. The situation will not be so perilous if the institution were an All-India one. If there is a depression in one industry in one province, the bank will on the whole maintain its position by the profits it may make with regard to the same industry in another province. Owing to purely local conditions, a depression may occur in the cotton mill industry in Bombay but not in Bengal. The All-India Bank will not be so vulnerable in the event of a provincial or local depression or in the event of a slump in a specific industry.

Risks can be distributed not only geographically but also generically by the All-India Bank much better than by the provincial institutions. The Central Institution can invest in many more different kinds of industry than a Provincial Bank. Except in the case of a world-wide depression, like the one recently witnessed, it is unlikely

that all the different kinds of industry should be simultaneously caught in a slump. The depression in one or two industries can have little repercussion on the general prosperity of the bank. A substantial number of industries have to be affected and a substantial fall in the value of the mortgaged property has to occur before the Central Institute can be threatened with any disaster. Different influences will affect different types of industry and industrial property, so that if one industry declines in value, the value of others may be well maintained or may even rise. A Central Institute will be able to sustain itself better because its investments will be very carefully distributed among various industries in various provinces and the chances of its being affected by an industrial depression will at the same time be comparatively smaller. If it is admitted that security both of the loan and the bond-holder has to be ensured for the successful operation of the mortgage institute, the measure which will ensure maximum security must be adopted. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee failed to realise the gravity and importance of the question, when, carried away by an anxious desire to safeguard the narrow sectional interests of the provinces, they recommended the establishment of industrial corporations on provincial lines. Wherever industrial mortgage banks have been started, considerations of security and marketability have weighed so seriously with them that they have always attempted to diversify the risk of investment as much as possible by selecting different types and sizes of industry situated in widely different parts of the country. It may also be mentioned in this connection that a great deal of the successful working of the British Investment Trusts has depended on their policy of distributing the risks—geographically, industrially and denominationally.[1]

A Central Bank will certainly be immune from the chief dangers which beset local banks—particular economic interests. It will be outside the pressure of local facts and the confusing influence of provincial patriotism. As Dr. Jeidels remarked: "If the organisation is too local, too provincial, local fights might arise about propositions submitted to the Corporation, everybody claiming that his proposition is the best. The Corporation, therefore, ought, I think, to keep as much aloof from local influence as possible, particularly in the beginning."[2]

[1] See George Glasgow—The English Investment Trust Companies (1930).
[2] Discussions with Foreign Experts—Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. IV, p. 250.

Otherwise it "will run the danger of becoming a pandemonium of partisan struggle and incompetence."[1] The encouragement of narrow sectional interests which is sought by the establishment of provincial institutions cannot be too strongly condemned. In economic matters, the promotion of separate provincial interests is highly injurious. So far as industrial development is concerned, it is never desirable, as Mr. Manu Subedar rightly observes, to take a narrow view of provincial development in preference to an all-round national development.[2]

The preceding discussion has made it abundantly clear that the proper course would be to organise the future Industrial Mortgage Bank of our country on an All-India basis. But after careful consideration of the peculiar conditions of India—the vast area of the country, the existence of acute provincial jealousies, and of an anxiety to safeguard the interests of local and small industries—we are inclined to restrict our proposed Central Institution to the business of issuing bonds only. We do not propose to entrust it with the responsibility of granting long term loans direct to industrial concerns. The set-up that we are contemplating and that we believe would be the most suitable type for India is an *All-India Bond Issuing Institute and a number of Credit Granting Provincial Bodies affiliated to it but having no power of bond issues.* The two functions of granting loans and issuing bonds have been separated in our scheme and have been entrusted to two different bodies. The All-India Bank will have the absolute monopoly of bond issue, but instead of lending direct to the industrialists themselves, will grant loans to the provincial or regional banks which will not be able to raise the necessary funds so easily in the capital markets of home and abroad. These Provincial Institutions will re-lend the proceeds of their loans from the Central Bank to the Industrial concerns, handing over at the same time to the Central Institute the mortgages of their industrial borrowers equal to the amount of the loan they receive. On the basis of the mortgaged properties, the Central Bank will issue a standardised bond of extraordinary strength and stability giving a definite specific yield. The Central Bank could lend with perfect safety upon the assignment of the large mass of mortgaged properties which

[1] Report of the Foreign Banking Experts—Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. I, Part I, p. 640.

[2] Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. I, Part II (Minority Report).

the local institutes have taken from their clients as well as on the general security of the borrowing banks. The security consisting of mortgages in different parts of India in a number of provinces and relating to various industries and various kinds of industrial property would be extremely well diversified and almost unchallengeable. The Central Bank will make large issues of bonds and the funds that it will obtain will be re-lent to the provincial institutions. The price at which the capital will be raised will be charged to the latter with a small addition for administrative expenses and a reserve fund. The expenses of conducting the business will include the costs of the bond issues, the salaries of qualified officials, rent for bank premises, etc. The difference between the rates of interest received from the borrowing bank and the rates allowed to the purchasers of the mortgage bonds will constitute the main source of the income of the All-India Bank. The Bank need not and probably should not lend at the same uniform rate to all the provincial banks. Different rates may be charged to the banks, who wish to borrow, according to their credit. Some restriction may also be imposed on the maximum amount that could be lent to a single provincial institute. The borrowers of the provincial institute will be charged a rate slightly higher than that at which the institutions themselves will receive their loans from the All India Bank. The set-up that we are contemplating is also calculated to provide cheaper industrial finance than will ever be possible if independent provincial institutions were formed. The Central Institute will undoubtedly be able to place its issues at a rate of interest much less than that at which a number of smaller competing provincial banks making numerous issues will be able to do. If bonds can be sold at a cheaper rate, money can also be lent to the borrowing provincial institutions at rates much lower than they must pay when appealing directly and separately to the investing public. Cheap finance will filter down through the provincial banks to the owners of industrial enterprises and thus industry will enjoy exceptionally good financial facilities. It is significant that the French Credit Foncier and the Centralised Swedish Institute in the sphere of agricultural mortgage credit, both of which possess absolute monopoly issues, have successfully placed their bonds at much cheaper rates than their smaller *confrères* in countries of similar conditions. The comparison is probably not conclusive as there are other elements to be considered, but there is ample ground to believe that this monopoly

of borrowing power has had a great deal to do with this cheapening of interst rates.[1]

The division of a Central Bond Issuing Institute and a decentralized organisation of credit granting bodies will, we believe, be admirably fitted to the needs of the situation. The difficulties arising from the peculiar conditions of the home capital market will be solved, provincial jealousies will be satisfied, fears and suspicions will be allayed; and yet the set-up will be outside the pressure of local facts and the confusing influence of provincial patriotism. The three essential conditions in the mortgage bond—marketability, security and yield—will be satisfied as in no other scheme. Security and marketability will be maximised and a definite specific yield will also be ensured.

In recommending this particular type of industrial mortgage bank of India, we have been greatly impressed by the Swedish models in the spheres of agricultural and urban credit. The Swedish General Mortgage Bank is the Central Bond Issuing Institute and lends the proceeds of these bond issues to district associations affiliated to it, upon the assignment of mortgages which they received from their own borrowers.[2] In an analogous manner the Swedish Town Mortgage Institution centralises the bond issues for its affiliated urban credit associations and grants mortgage credits to them.[3]

Our argument for a Central Bond Issuiug Institute is further reinforced by recent developments in the history of mortgage banking. The advantages of a Central national issue have become increasingly patent ; and the post-War years have witnessed a remarkable development of the centralized mortgage bond. In every country there is noticeable an unmistakable tendency towards the creation of Central Bond Issuing Agencies. The type based on Swedish experience is coming more and more into favour. An important instance is furnished by the Deutsche Rentenbank Kreditanstalt founded in 1925 on lines closely similar to those of the Swedish Mortgage Bank. It is a Central Agency for issuing bonds, the proceeds of the bond issues being lent to agricultural and co-operative association.

The growth of the concentration movement among mortgage banks illustrates the same tendency towards centralisation. The

1 J. L. Cohen—The Mortgage Bank, p. 128.
2 Strickland—Studies in European Co-operation, Vol II, p. 50.
3 J. L. Cohen—The Mortgage Bank, pp. 192-93.

recent history of mortgage institutes in Germany, for instance, is dotted with fusions and amalgamations. The formation of Preussische Centralbordenund Pfandbrief Bank is a remarkable instance of this movement. Eight of the oldest mortgage banks in Germany also combined in the post-War years to form the Gemeinschaftsgruppe-Deutscher Hypothekenbanken to last at least 40 years.

The same considerations that were urged in 1922 for the establishment of a Central Bank for every country are to-day being put forward for the creation of a Central Mortgage Bank in most countries needing long period loans. The advantages of a Central Institute in the sphere of agricultural credit have been considered to be so great and numerous that it has even been proposed to start an Imperial Mortgage Bank for the whole of the British Empire.[1] Such an institution with its headquarters in London might lend to the existing mortgage banks in the different parts of the British Empire which might be in difficulties to raise the necessary funds themselves. The Imperial Bank with much less effort and difficulty may obtain the requisite funds from the markets of the world by issuing bonds on the basis of the mortgaged properties in different countries of the Empire. The security and marketability of these bonds will be unquestioned. In the same way the question of setting up an International Mortgage Bank, standing in the same relation to the mortgage banks of the world as the Swedish Institution does to its affiliated associations, has been frequently canvassed in recent years. It has even engaged the attention of the League of Nations and has been actively studied since January, 1931, by its Financial Committee and a special Delegation of this Committee. A concrete proposal for forming an International Agricultural Credit Company was drawn up by this body. It was considered in Geneva in April and May, 1931, by a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Enquiry for European Union and was approved by the latter and also by the Council which appointed an Organisation Committee to take all necessary steps for its organisation.[2]

International Institutes for feeding the mortgage banks of several countries, though not of the world, have already been formed or are in the course of formation. The Institut Central pour Prets Hypothecaires was founded with a registered capital of 10 million florins

1 The Statist, September 13, 1930, pp. 376-77.
2 Agricultural Crisis Volume, 1931 (League of Nations), p. 71.

in Amsterdam in 1930 by a body of leading bankers of different countries. Similarly the International Bordenkreditbank was established at Basel with German, Swiss and Swedish capital with an idea of issuing bonds to the public and purchasing with the proceeds the bonds of mortgage banks.

The foregoing discussion has clearly revealed the recent tendency among mortgage institutes to establish Central Institutes and has amply demonstrated the advantages of the system of having a Central Bond Issuing Institute in preference to decentralized provincial bodies. In the circumstances it is only logical that India should not take a retrograde step by establishing separate provincial institutions as the Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended but should keep herself abreast of the times and, profiting by the experience of other countries, should form her future Industrial Mortgage Bank on lines parallel to recent world movements. The Government of the United Provinces has recently established an " Industrial Credit Bank " for financing the industries of the Provinces according to the recommendations of the Industrial Finance Committee.[1] An Industrial Credit Syndicate has also been promoted in Bengal with Government support. The organisations are conceived on entirely provincial lines and in the light of the preceding discussion can never be supported. Again in these days of planning, such piecemeal efforts on the part of Provincial Governments can hardly be approved. In order to reap the full benefits of a Specialist Institution and to ensure its successful working, it should be formed under the auspices of the Central Government, as we have suggested.

Amount and Mode of Subscription of Capital

The question of the amount and mode of subscription of the capital of the proposed All-India Mortgage Bank should next engage our attention. As regards the amount, it must be emphasised that it should be such as would give the Bank a definite status both at home and abroad. As Mr. Manu Subedar has observed, the psychological factors of hopefulness and confidence among the public and business community, which are so necessary for the proper function-

[1] Report of the Industrial Finance Committee, United Provinces (1935).

ing of such an Institution must have to be created.[1] Wherever such Institutions have been formed a fairly large initial share capital has been provided for, and there have generally been stipulations for a further increase of capital, if necessary. An adequate policy of distribution of risks is partly dependent on the size of the Institute. Agricultural Mortgage Institutes in Europe and America have, therefore, been as a rule more or less large scale undertakings. In the sphere of industrial credit also, the Finnish, the Hungarian and the Saxon Mortgage Institutes have been started with a fairly large share capital. In the case of India the existing demand for long term industrial finance is considerable. The industrial development of the country has also immense possibilities. Extension and reorganisation are urgently called for in most of her major industries. The potential needs of long-dated industrial capital must, therefore, be very great in the near future. All these factors have to be taken into careful consideration in determining the size of the Bank's capital. Various estimates of this size have been made. A well-known Indian Banker estimated that the capital should be 50 lakhs to start with, and it might be gradually increased, if necessary.[2] A University professor's estimate was one crore, to be increased later on as the Institution showed signs of stability and success. Mr. Manu Subedar in his Minority Report put it at 5 crores [3] and a Chamber of Commerce proposed two to three crores.[4] The various Provincial Banking Committees which suggested the establishment of provincial industrial banks made different estimates of the initial share capital required by such institutes. The proposal of the Bombay Committee, for instance, was an authorised capital of 5 crores and a paid-up capital of 1 crore.[5]

But all this is a mere guess work. It would be advisable to conduct a survey of the industrial conditions of the country before any decision is made as regards the size of the All-India Bank's capital. The survey should be made, as Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, at present Minister of Finance, Bengal, suggested in his valuable note of dissent to the Central Banking Enquiry Committee's Report,

[1] Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. I, Part II, p. 344.
[2] Evidence (written) of Mr. (later Sir) S. N. Pochkhanawalla—Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. II, p. 42.
[3] Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. I, Part II (Minority Report), p. 344.
[4] Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. II, p. 540.
[5] Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. I, Part I, p. 288.

by an expert body and should be sufficiently comprehensive so as to cover not only the immediate possibilities and scope of new industries which can be started but also the extent to which existing industries may profitably be expanded and reorganised, full account being taken of modernisation, extensions and replacements of plant and machinery.[1] It would be difficult to offer any estimate as to the size of the necessary share capital without this industrial survey. The nominal capital should be kept fairly high. The whole of the nominal capital need not be issued at once. A fairly good amount may be opened for subscription in the beginning and bonds may also be issued against industrial mortgages to the extent as recommended hereinafter. Further shares and bonds may be issued as and when required.

The capital of the All-India Bank should be contributed partly by the Central Government and partly by the various provincial institutions. The organisation scheme of the provincial banks will be as follows:—

The capital of a Provincial Institute will be divided into two classes, "A" and "B" stock, 75% of the shares will belong to class "A" and 25% to class "B." The former will be held partly by banks and other institutional investors. The "B" series of shares must be subscribed by the would-be borrowers of the Bank, industrial enterprises—whether private, joint stock, or co-operative—to an amount equal to a fixed percentage, say 5% of their borrowings When the industrial borrower will have paid his loan and ceased to be a borrower any longer, he will be at liberty to sell his share to a prospective borrower or to transfer it to series "A" shares which may then be sold to anybody. Series "B" shares should be made not transferable except to another industrial borrower or an individual eligible to become a borrower and then only with the approval of the directors of the provincial institution. But each holder of series "B" shares must, within two years after he has ceased to be a borrower, exchange his share at its fair book value, not exceeding par, as determined by the Institute, for a series "A" share. By this provision, it will be possible to maintain permanent relations with the borrowers and to firmly establish the co-operative principle of joint liability. It is also to be expected that the Government Stock will be gradually retired as private investors subscribe for Series "A" shares, and Series

[1] Discussions with Foreign Experts—Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. IV, p. 334.

"A" shares are substituted for series "B" shares, when a borrower has paid his loan.) The participation of borrowers in the share capital of the lending institute has been an interesting feature of several organisations dealing in mortgage credit in recent years. The Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd., is an important case in point. [1] In the United States, in a different sphere of mortgage credit, the same provision requiring the borrower to subscribe to a certain fixed portion of the share capital of the credit-granting body has recently been made. According to the American Agricultural Credit Legislation of 1933, *viz.*, the Emergency Farm Mortgage Credit of May 12, 1933 and the Farm Credit Act of June 16, 1933, borrowers of a Productive Credit Association must subscribe to its class "B" stock, and the borrowing Associations must subscribe for stock in the Central or Regional Co-operative Banks, in amounts equal to 5% of their total borrowings.[2]

Collective Liability

The joint and several liability of the borrowers is a common feature of mortgage banks organised as mutual associations. In the case of agricultural credit co-operative associations issuing mortgage bonds in their early stage, each member was held liable to the total value of its assets for the debts of the association. The debtor associations of the Swedish General Mortgage Bank are liable to an unlimited extent for the debts of the Central Bank in proportion of the amounts respectively borrowed by them. The borrowers of the associations themselves in turn are jointly and severally liable without limit for the obligations of their respective associations in proportion to the debts owed by them.[3]

At the present times, the liability of the borrower is limited as a rule to the amount of his own loan or to that part of it still outstanding or even to his share in the capital. As an instance of the case where the liability is related to the holdings in the share capital, mention may be made of the Belgian local banks which affiliate with Central Banks by subscribing one share at least, involving a liability limited to at least ten times the amount of the share.[4] In the Rentenbank

[1] Report of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd. (1924, Helsingfors). Also Letter to the writer from the Managing Director in reply to a Questionnaire dated the 6th November, 1934.

[2] Journal of Political Economy, Vol. XLII, February, 1934, pp. 30-31.

[3] Herrick—Rural Credits, pp. 182-83, 218.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 386.

Kreditanstalt of Germany, each of the agricultural debtor organisations is individually liable for the unamortized principal of the loan. The Municipal Mortgage Bank of Finland has laid down that the members will be jointly liable up to the amount of the difference of the loan outstanding and the value of the mortgaged property. In the Provincial Mortgage Bank of Saxony, which deals in industrial mortgage-loans like the proposed Indian organisation, the borrowers are jointly and severally liable up to 10% of the loan granted.[1] A great deal of the security of the bonds issued by a mortgage institute which is a mutual association of borrowers depends on the collective liability, limited or unlimited, of members.

Combining Swedish with recent Saxon experience, we would suggest that the Provincial Mortgage Banks in India should be jointly and severally liable for all debts of the Central Bank up to 10% of the loans granted. The borrowers of the Provincial Banks, the mortgagors themselves, should in their own turn be jointly and severally liable up to 10% of the loans granted by their Provincial Institute. The bonds of the All-India Institute will virtually attain bedrock security as they will have not only the mortgages as cover but also the joint liability of the Provincial Banks and their industrial customers.

[*To be continued.*]

[1] Statutes relating to the establishment of the Bank, Sec. 9.

THE ORBIT OF THE MOON

KHAGESWAR DATTA BARUA

The popular notion of the Moon's orbit is that it is elliptical in structure. According to this popular theory, the Earth moves onward along the major axis of the ellipse while the Moon revolves round the Earth along the curve of the ellipse. The path of the Earth is again an ellipse with the Sun at one of its foci. This is known to everybody who has read either Geography or Astronomy. This common theory has been accepted all over the world for years, without the slightest shadow of doubt about its soundness—none has, it seems, ever stopped to question or verify it. This is indeed a wonder of the twentieth century that scientists have been disputing over millions of knotty problems but have not diverted their attention to this simple thing which they take for granted. If this happened out of reverence to the propounder of the theory, it is unscientific and not the real way of showing respect. Science knows nothing but Truth, and does not dishonour a theoriser in refuting his theory. The real way of honouring a scientist lies in improving his theory by removing its defects.

The Revelations of the Heavens forwards arguments from Newton, and Physics and Mathematics to show that the Moon cannot have an elliptical path under the circumstances. With the Earth moving ever forward along its path, the Moon's path must be an infinite spiral. The path of the Earth, which must also be a spiral for similar reasons pointed out in the book, forms the axis of the Moon's spiral. The book shows that (1) the Moon's ellipse arrests the motion of the Earth, (2) the Moon, according to the common theory, must describe a larger ellipse in every new revolution round the Earth till it (Earth) describes half of its own orbit, and then the Moon must behave in the reverse order—meaning acceleration in the Moon's speed in the first half and retardation in the second half of each revolution of the Earth, (3) the laws of motion and gravitation do not support such motion, (4) the acceptance of a single ellipse falsifies all other ellipses in the heavens—hence ellipse is suicidal. By a slight adjustment, the book replaces a spiral in conformity to the requirements of all laws of Physics. By way of verification it lays down certain figures from a Hindu Calendar and also an easy experiment with children playing on a field. Perhaps the Geographical apparatus, a common Tellurian, is the best instrument to verify the accuracy of the Moon's spiral. In this apparatus, the Earth revolves round a stationary Sun along a circle while the Moon goes on revolving round the Earth. If one carefully observes the motion and the path of the Moon from start to finish, one will find that the Moon's path is really a spiral, as described in this book, though apparently it appears to be circular or elliptical. This instrument represents the Sun, the Earth and the Moon according to the popular theory, and yet it best illustrates the spiral path for the Moon. The Tellurian can be still better adapted for this purpose by fixing a horizontal plane above it and a sharp pin (or pencil) to the Moon, to write on the above plane. In this state the Tellurian will act as a self-recorder in addition and will inscribe the path of the journey of the Moon. It will be found that the Moon's path is not an ellipse, but a spiral—circular in general shape owing to the Earth's circular path under the common Tellurian.

THE LATE MR. BIRAJMOHAN MAJUMDAR

Born: 7th January, 1867. Died: 1st April, 1939.

IN MEMORIAM

P. N. BANERJEE, ESQ., M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.

DURING the last six months the University Law College has suffered irreparable loss in the death of its Foundation-Principal Dr. S. C. Bagchi and of its Vice-Principal Mr. Birajmohan Majumdar. Both of them retired from active service. We were indeed looking forward to years of peace, prosperity and joy for them and inspiration, guidance and advice from them. All our hopes have been rudely shattered.

Born in the village of Sripur in the district of Khulna on the 7th of January, 1867, son of Ananda Mohan Majumdar, a Deputy Magistrate in those days, Mr. Birajmohan Majumdar lost his father at the early age of thirteen. He passed the Entrance Examination in 1885, having obtained a Government Scholarship. He passed the F.A. Examination in the first division from St. Xavier's College. He passed the B.A. Examination with second class Honours from the Presidency College, Calcutta, in 1889. He passed the M.A. Examination in the second class in Chemistry from the same College in 1890. At the Presidency College, he received tuition from eminent scientists like Alexander Pedlar and J. C. Bose. Charles Tawny was his Principal.

Mr. Majumdar started life as a teacher in Mathematics, Science and Geography in the Harinabhi High School on a salary of Rs. 50 per month. He then accepted a professorship of Science in the Raj Chandra College, Barisal. He next transferred his allegiance to Calcutta and was attached to the London Missionary College, Bhawanipur as a Professor of Science. He delivered a course of lectures on 'Sound' in the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. The year 1893 was a landmark in the life-story of Mr. Majumdar: he was introduced to the late Asutosh Mookerjee that year. Mr. Majumdar, under his guidance, passed the B. L. Examination of the Calcutta University in 1897. He acted as his great master's junior in the High Court of Calcutta from 1898 to the year 1904, when Asutosh Mookerjee was elevated to the Bench.

On the foundation of the University Law College in 1909, Mr. Majumdar was appointed a Professor. In 1913 he rose to occupy the position of the Vice-Principal and acted as such till 1935. During his administrative career as Vice-Principal for nearly a quarter of a century Mr. Majumdar acted as Principal several times. In 1934 Mr. Majumdar met with the greatest tragedy of his life: one of his daughers-in-law died in the great earthquake of January, 1934. He could not recover from that shock. He retired from the post of the Vice-Principal of the Law College in June, 1935.

Mr. Majumdar was a Vakil and Advocate of the Calcutta High Court. He founded the *Calcutta Law Journal* in 1905. It may not now be known that the late Lord S. P. Sinha was intimately connected with the *Calcutta Law Journal* as a member of the Board of Editors. In 1907, Mr. Majumdar was appointed Vakil for the the Deputy Registrar of the High Court. He held that office till his retirement from High Court in 1934.

In 1909, Mr. Majumdar was elected, by his fellow graduates, a member of the Senate. He was elected a member of the Syndicate by the Faculty of Law in 1913. He served on the Syndicate from 1913 to 1934. He was a member of the Senate and a member of the Faculty of Law till his death on the 1st April, 1939. As a member of the Syndicate he devoted his time and energy to the multifarious activities of the University. For many years, he acted as Paper-setter, Tabulator and Head-Examiner in the various University Examinations.

Mr. Majumdar's extra-legal and extra-University activities were considerable. He was the founder of the Geographical Society of Calcutta. He acted as member, Vice-President and President of the South Suburban School, the biggest school in Bengal, for about a quarter of a century. He was a member of the Managing Committee and the Vice-President of the Mitra Institution, Bhawanipur, since its foundation in 1905. He was also a member of the Governing Body and he acted as a Vice-President of the South Suburban College, Bhawanipur—now called Asutosh College—since its foundation in 1916. He helped in founding a High School in his native place at Sripur, and he took a great interest in its affairs till his death.

Mr. Majumdar's association with the Law College as its administrative head for nearly twenty-five years made the College what it was when he left it. The University Law College and Mr. Majumdar

were indeed mutually interchangeable terms. We mourn his loss today not merely as a teacher—as an educationist—as a lawyer—as an administrator—but also as a dutiful and loyal son of our common *Alma Mater.*

Mr. Majumdar has left behind him a widow, five sons, three daughters, numerous students, his friends, the Principal, the professoriate and the entire staff of the Law College, to mourn his loss. He died full of years and full of honours. The loss of the Law College, due to his death, it will be difficult to fill up.

Our only prayer is that his legacies to posterity may not be frittered away, that peace and prosperity might reign in his family and that his soul may rest in eternal peace in that land from whose bourne no traveller hath yet returned.

News and Views

(A monthly record of News and Views relating to, Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.)

Eminent Jewish Scholar.

A *Reuter* message from London announces the death, at the age of 82, of the eminent Jewish scholar Dr. Moses Gaster.

Dr. Gaster was formerly Chief Rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in Great Britain, and a great scholar, linguist, and orator. He was closely identified with Dr. Harzl in the early stages of the Zionist movement, and occupied a most prominent position in world Jewry.

He was the author of many books in several languages, a noted Orientalist, and an authority on Slavonic literature. While still a young man he wrote a history of Rumanian literature, and was regarded as one of the chief authorities on Rumanian language and literature. He occupied the position of lecturer at Bucharest University, but was expelled from Rumania, of which country he is a native, in 1885 for his energetic protest against the treatment of the Jews by Rumanian Government.

He settled in England in the same year, and declined to return to Rumania when he was later asked by the Government to do so.

Literacy Drive in Karachi.

In order to give an impetus to the literacy drive the Central Board of literacy compaign at Karachi have decided that every educated man should be called upon to sign a pledge to make one person literate and in case he failed to do so should be asked to pay Rs. 2 instead. It was also resolved to keep about 25,000 copies of such pledges in readiness.

Literacy Campaign in Dacca.

On an invitation from Sj. Hashimay Sen, the students of the Sonargaon G. R. Institution who appeared in the last Matriculation Examination assembled at two meetings held on two different dates at Aminpur Chowdhury Bari and the Sri Ramkrishna Mission House, where Sj. Sen explained to them that they were now in a position to do much for removing to some extent illiteracy of the poor down-trodden people in the country-side by starting night schools here and there during the next two months and a half, when they would have ample leisure. He also promised all necessary help, financial or otherwise. Those who were present at the meeting encouraged the students by their valuable advice and by promising co-operation.

A committee was formed to translate the proposal into immediate action.

Dacca University Muslim Hall.

The annual meeting of the Dacca University Muslim Hall Old Boys' Association was held recently in the Salimulla Muslim Hall with Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahman Khan, Principal, Teachers' Training College, in the Chair.

The meeting decided to have the Association registered and also approved of the scheme for erection of a building for the Association at the estimated cost of Rs. 12,500. The meeting appreciated the services of Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M.L.A., in persuading the Government to sanction the scheme for establishing a New Muslim Hall in the Dacca University. The meeting elected the following office-bearers for the ensuing session:—

President —Khan Bahadur M. Hasan; Vice-Presidents—Khan Bahadur Naziruddin Ahmed, Mr. A. F. M. Rahman, I.C.S., Secretary—Dr. Momtazuddin Ahmed.

Orissa Medical School Strike.

At a meeting of the students of Cuttack presided over by a first year student of the Ravenshaw College held recently in the Town Hall to consider the situation arising out of the Medical School Strike, it was decided to send a deputation to the Hon'ble Sj. Bodhram Dube so that their grievances may be redressed.

Dacca Muslim Students.

Khan Bahadur Azizul Huq, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University opened the Dacca District Muslim Students Conference on the 23rd and 24th April under the presidency of Maulana Akram Khan, M.L.C.

Poet Nazrul Islam, and others attended the Conference.

Miscellany

CRIME AND POVERTY

In the *American Sociological Review* for October 1938, Robert Merton has a paper on "Social Structure and Anomie," which discusses the conditions under which correlations can be detected between criminality and lack of opportunity. Poverty has varying social significance in different social structures, says he. Hence one would not expect a linear correlation between crime and poverty. But correlations there are. According to Merton poverty is not an isolated variable. It is one in a complex of interdependent social and cultural variables. When viewed in such a context, it represents quite different states of affairs. Poverty as such, and consequent limitation of opportunity, are not sufficient to induce a conspicuously high rate of criminal behaviour. Even the often mentioned "poverty in the midst of plenty" will not necessarily lead to this result. Only in so far as poverty and associated disadvantages in competition for the culture values approved for all members of the society is linked with the assimilation of a cultural emphasis on monetary accumulation as a symbol of success is antisocial conduct a "normal" outcome. Thus, poverty is less highly correlated with crime in Southeastern Europe than in the United States. The possibilities of vertical mobility in these European areas would seem to be fewer than in this country, so that neither poverty *per se* nor its association with limited opportunity is sufficient to account for the varying correlations. It is only when the full configuration is considered, poverty, limited opportunity and a commonly shared system of success symbols, that we can explain the higher association between poverty and crime in our society than in others where rigidified class structure is coupled with *differential class symbols of achievement.*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE LARGE FAMILY MOVEMENT

Documents of a new demographic policy in recent years are Zahn: *Wie die Familie so das Volk* (Like family, like people), Munich, 1930; Gini: *Population* (Chicago), 1930; Zingali: *I Provvedimenti Mussoliniani per lo Sviluppo quantitativo e qualitativo della Popolazione* (The Measures of Mussolini for the Quantitative and Qualitative Development of the Population) Rome; Burgdoerfer: *Volk ohne Jugend* (People without Youth), Berlin, 1932. These publications, German and Italian, are contributions to the modern large family movement (*Kinderreiche Familie, la famiglia numerosa*) of modern times. It may be said to have started with Korherr's *Geburtenrueckgang* (Decline in the Birth Rate) in the *Sueddeutsche Monatshefte* of Munich, 1927 and Mussolini's *Il Numero come Forza* (Number as Strength) in the *Gerarchia* of Milan, 1928. Mussolini's law of *bonifica integrale* (comprehensive land-reclamation), 1928, was an Act calculated to promote demographic expansion. It is worth while to record that the ball was set rolling at the end of the Great War by

France when the *Comgrès National de Natalité* was established (1919) in order to promote large families by encouraging marriages and births through the system of *allocations familiales* (family allowances). Boverat's *L'Encouargement national aux familles nombreuses* (National Encouragement to large families), and Veuille's *Primes à la Natalité* (Aids to the Birth Rate) read at the Eighth Congress of Natalité, Paris, 1926, have to be mentioned as fore-runners of the subsequent German-Italian demographic ideologies and legislations. France's efforts in the "active" population policy did not however arrest the world's special attention for the time being, because the world was aware that the French birth rate had been scandalously low and that France naturally needed some strong measures to counteract the national suicide. Even in 1927 the World's Population Congress at Geneva could still be held therefore in the atmosphere of the prevailing birth control ideology. It is since Korherr and Mussolini inspired the large population centres like Germany and Italy to measures promoting still larger numbers that a war against the " international birth strike " may be described as having seriously commenced. The International Congress of Population held at Rome in 1931, although entirely scientific in discussions and not committed to any propaganda for or against any particular demographic theory or policy, devoted considerable attention to the anatomy, physiology, hygiene, economics and sociology of *familie numerose*.*

Michel Huber's *La population de la France* (Paris, 1931) describes among other things the progress in birth strike or diminution in fecundity since the Great War. England and Germany have joined France in the "abnormal situation." A large number of countries find themselves in good company in this regard. He appreciates the measures of the French state for the promotion of the large family movement and trusts that they will serve likewise to render the condition of such families more comfortable. The campaign against *la dépopulation menaceante* is traced by Huber back to 1850 and especially to 1896 when *l'Alliance nationale pour l' accroissement de la population française* (National League for the increase of French population) was established by Bertillon and to 1905 when the Government instituted a commission to inquire into depopulation. Bertillon's *La dépopulation de la Fance* (1911) and Leroy-Beaulieu's *La question de la dépopulation* (1913) were published almost on the eve of the Great War when another commission was instituted (1912) which however could not function. Finally in 1913 Acts were passed authorizing assistance, first, to women during confinement, and secondly, to large families. At the end of the war the system of *allocations familiales* (family allowances) was introduced on a large scale. The *Congrès National de la Natalité* (National Congress of Birth Rate) held its first session at Nancy in 1919.

The same key is struck in G. Bonvoisin: *Influence démographique des Caisses de Compensation et de leurs services sociaux.* In this paper for the International Congress of Population held at Paris (1937) Bonvoisin demonstrates that family allowances have served to increase the birth rate in France during the period 1928-1936. In another paper, *Die neue deutsche Bevoelkerungsentwicklung* Friederich Burgdoerfer demonstrates among other things that in Germany (1) the number of marriages has increased from 1932 to 1936 and (2) that the increase in the number of births per year from 1933 to 1936 is nearly 300,000. During 1934-1936 altogether

* B. K. Sarkar: "The Trend of Indian Birth Rate in the Perspective of Comparative Demography" (*Indian Journal of Economics*, Allahabad, April, 1934).

830,000 more children were born than might be expected from the normal situation in 1933. Such a success, says Burgdoerfer, has never been seen either in the history of German demographic statistics or that of any other country. The increase in the birth rate is attributed by him to the Nazi population policy comprising, as it does, marriage loans, child allowances (recurring and once for all), tax reforms, and other indirectly demographic measures such as agricultural welfare and allied policies.

These two papers may be seen in Vol. VII of *Actes du Congrès International de la Population* entitled *Facteurs et Conséquences de l' Evolution Démographique* (Paris 1938).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE SECULARIZATION OF RELIGIOLOGY

A valuable contribution to the study not only of race-questions in general but of cultural progress as well is furnished by Stanislaw Schayer (Warsaw), Polish scholar, in his paper on the evolution of humanism as a method in the interpretation of religious phenomena presented to the International Parliament of Religions* held at Calcutta under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee (March 1937). "The large humanistic aspect in which we have learnt to look at religious phenomena is doubtless one of the most precious acquisitions of our modern civilization. It is to be added that this acquisition is a fresh one, and is by no means easy." Schayer examines the chauvinistic Christian interpretations of religious phenomena beginning with the Patristic conception of non-Christian religions as being Satanic in origin down to Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* (1832) in which Christianity is placed in the perspective of other religions but of course as the "absolute religion," the "zenith and the realization of the ideal." Schayer is liberal enough to "forgive Hegel" because the Hegelian chauvinism may have been due to ignorance of facts. But he is too liberal, nay, too radical, to accept Hegel as guide. He is not a neo-Hegelian but a post-Hegelian in so far as he comes to the conclusion that Christianity is "not the end of history," but is "shut up within history." In this secularization of religiology Schayer considers Renan and Loisy as well as Durkheim and Usener to be pioneers or at any rate significant landmarks. By linking himself up to this new group Schayer has succeeded in making a place for himself among those intellectuals of today in East and West who are constructing the bridges of *rapprochement* between the historic races or cultures on the basis of democratic equality.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

TOENNIES'S SPIRIT OF THE MODERN AGE

According to Ferdinand Toennies in *Geist der Neuzeit* or "The Spirit of the Modern Age" (Leipzig), the recognition of the periodicity of economic crises has brought into relief the permanent danger of capitalism

* *The Religions of the World*, Vol. I (Calcutta 1938): paper on Humanism and Religiology.

as the ruling factor of the international world. The faith in the blessings of capitalism which has been dominant among the *intelligentsia* for a long time in also being substantially weakened. It was indeed most powerfully shattered by the economic depression of 1929-32. Even the great citadel of capitalistic thought, namely, the U.S.A., has been attacked by the loss of faith in capitalism. And as for England, she has been pessimistic in regard to the advantages of capitalism since the end of the nineteenth century although she was assured of them on account of her industrial monopoly position in the world market and achievements of imperialism in colonial policy. Gradually socialism has been established as a world-wide power. In Germany socialism is intimately linked up with the state, and state socialism has been kept up by the republic also. The conception of the state finds its final consummation in the modern republican and democratic constitutions.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

TWO MORALITIES : CUSTOMARY AND REFLECTIVE

René Hubert says in his paper "Le Problème Moral" published in the *Revue Philosophique* (Paris, November-December 1934 and March-April 1935) that there are two kinds of morality and the opposition between them is apparently irreducible. One is the collective morality and the other the personal morality. One may be called the customary morality and the other the reflective morality. Customary morality arises out of the collective representations of each social group. It is essentially conservative and traditionalist. To the morality of custom is opposed the morality derived from reflection. Reflective practical reason can look upon itself as the object of criticism and reflection. This is possible because of internal liberty. The automatism of customary actions and movements is replaced by the imprevisibility of autonomous decisions, and the determinism of mechanical forces by the contingence of personal innovations. This is consummated on account of reflective morality, the personal conscience, the *a priori*, *i.e.*, the faculty, capacity or power of judgment.

The contradiction between the two moralities—the social and the *a priori*—has subsisted through the ages. Between these two extremes there has always appeared a double communication, a double movement. One may be called the downward movement and the other the upward movement. The spirit becomes the customary, *i.e.*, social morality in the downward movement. In the upward movement the social or customary morality is lifted up to the spirit.

In regard to the first movement it is to be observed that it is the spirit, divided, fragmented and atomized, that the successive civilizations embody in their beliefs and institutions. The different parts, parcels or atoms of the spirit acquire thereby a solidity and fixity. Thus arise the closed moralities, the religions of dogmas and ritualisms. Morality which began as a creative force becomes conservative. From innovation it comes down to tradition. This is well exemplified in political life. Every party which triumphs becomes a conservator. There is no example in history of a revolution which continues its rôle as revolution, innovation or creation after having replaced the old institutions. The genesis of collective representation, *i.e.*, of social morality is a phenomenon of spiritual strangulation or breathlessness.

The other movement is the ascent of the spirit from the collective representations or social morality upwards. The spirit reminiscent of itself and its mission, works to emancipate itself from the forces which necessitate its fall and to recapture its own self. The movement is generated among the collective representations or social moralities themselves. On account of the mixture of populations and the of different civilisations the defects of the existing system begin to appear. Astonishments, sufferings, anguishes are caused by political revolution. As long as the social order is stable or untroubled the collective representations of the customary morality may remain unchallenged. But as soon as the social order begins to be in trouble the foundation of the customary morality is shaken, and reflection begins to have its chance. Every thing is questioned and the world-view has need to be reconstructed afresh. Reflective morality, the *a priori* or personal conscience commences on its career of creations and innovations. It engenders revolutions and changes the very principles of valuation.

This incessantly revolutionary character constitutes the glory of all the greatest creators of morality. Neither Socrates nor Jesus, nor Kant nor Nietzsche was wanting in this revolutionary character. The effort of the spirit to judge in its own name all that is, define itself in the face of all that is, and recover, in opposition to all that drags down, the freedom of action and initiative of the movement towards on high is the form assumed by every progress of reflective morality. And it is by accepting this view of progress that all the great creators of morality have obeyed the superior law of the spirit.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE NEW INDOLOGY IN GERMANY

In the chapter on India contributed by Heinrich Lueders to *Der Orient und Wir* (The Orient and We), Berlin, 1935, the positivistic, secular and energistic elements of Hindu and Buddhist culture are brought out in bold relief.

In the *Jahrbuch der Schopenhauer-Gesellschaft* Helmuth von Glasenapp contributes two papers, one on *Buddhas Stellung zur Kultur* and the other on *Lebensbejahung und Lebensverneinung bei den indischen Denkern*. He exhibits the parallelisms and identities between Indian culture and Western culture and repudiates the traditional indology which considers Indian thought to be exclusively given over to the negation of life,—exposing particularly the fallacies of Albert Schweitzer's *Die Weltanschauung der indischen Denker* (Munich, 1935).

Bernhard Breloer's *Kautalya-Studien*: *Finanzverwaltung und Wirtschaftsfuehrung* (Leipzig, 1934) dealing as it does with the financial administration and economic planning of the Kautalyan *Arthasastra* is Vol. III, of his *Staatsverwaltung im Alten Indien* (Administration of the State in Ancient India). He takes a rational and secular view of Hindu politics and economics. Besides, he believes that *Arthasastra* is a document of *Planwirtschaft* ("planned economy").

It is through such contributions that a New Indology is trying to emancipate the science of Hindu culture from the fallacies of pioneer indologists like Max Mueller, Emile Senart and Max Weber. Some of these fallacies have been examined in the present author's *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1938).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Māyāvāda or The Non-Dualistic Philosophy (Vedānta)—by Sādhu Śāntinātha, Poona, 1938. Pp. 153+18+5.

This work is a clear and competent exposition of the Advaita Vedānta with special reference to its doctrine of the Absolute Reality as unobjective, self-luminous being which illumines the whole world of physical and mental phenomena. The Introduction opens with a brief statement of the fundamental elements in the non-dualistic theory, namely, that the Absolute Reality is one changeless, differenceless, attributeless, self-luminous Being; that the experienced world is not ultimately real, ' but that it has only an *apparent* or *illusory* existence ;' that the Absolute is ' its material as well as efficient cause ;' that ' it is as such cause of the world that the Absolute is conceived as God ;' that it is some inscrutable power of the Absolute, called *Māyā* or *Avidyā* that accounts for ' the *appearance* of this illusory world on the *substratum* of the Absolute Reality.' This is followed by a passing reference to the six sources of valid knowledge, of which Scripture or the Vedānta is said to be accepted by the Advaitin as the primary source of the knowledge of supersensuous noumenal Truth, since logic is not the means of finding out the Absolute Truth, but a way of justifying it.

The work is divided into seven chapters in which the author clearly explains the principal arguments by which the fundamental positions of the Advaita Vedānta have been supported by its illustrious exponents. Chapter I states the rational grounds for holding that pure Existence or Being is the absolutely real, non-dual substratum of the world of experience. Chapter II explains the arguments adduced by the Advaitin to prove that one changeless consciousness is the witness of all mental states, processes and experiences. Chapter III is devoted to a proof of the self-luminosity of this consciousness. Chapter IV demonstrates the non-duality of consciousness by showing that there cannot be any difference within itself or outside itself and that consciousness and Existence are absolutely identical. Chapter V discusses the theory of Illusory Causation as the only explanation for the appearance of the world of phenomena. Chapter VI explains the logical implications of the principle of Illusory Causation and demonstrates the necessity of recognising some inexplicable cosmic Ignorance to account for the illusory appearance of the diversified universe. Chapter VII shows that it is by being illusorily conditioned by this Ignorance that the unconditioned Absolute Reality appears as Personal God or the omnipotent and omniscient creator and governor of the world. It follows from this that the Godhood of Brahman is illusory and that the non-relative unconditioned Brahman alone is real.

Four appendices have been added to the chapters at the end of the book. In the first two the author discusses more fully the theories of causation and error, and shows how the Vedāntin establishes the validity of his position against other rival views. In the third appendix it is shown how the three conditions of falsity are present in the case of the empirical world and how cosmic Ignorance, as the explanatory principle of it, can be proved from the side of both the world and the Absolute.

The book gives ample evidence of the author's wide reading and clear understanding of the Advaita Vedānta. It shows also his general acquaint-

tance with the other schools of Indian philosophy. While explaining the fundamental doctrines of the Advaita, he has correctly stated almost all the other Indian theories bearing on the same questions. The author has not given a merely textual interpretation of the Vedānta philosophy, but has presented it as a logically developed system based on the epistemological and ontological study of our experience. There are, however, two points on which we require more light from the author. These relate to the status of the world and the nature of Māyā or Avidyā in the Advaita philosophy. He tells us that for the Advaitin the world has only an *apparent* or *illusory* existence. This would suggest that the world is an appearance of or an illusion in Brahman. But there is a distinction between appearance and illusion which seems to be ignored by the author when he uses the words as synonyms. An illusory experience is more or less a private matter affecting this or that individual, while an appearance is an experience which is common to and shareable by all individuals. The blood-red and somewhat enlarged disk of the morning sun is an appearance; the rope-snake and oyster-silver are illusions. Then, with regard to Māyā, we are left in doubt as to whether the Advaitin would have as believe that it is an inscrutable power of Brahman or a cosmic Ignorance which veils and apparently distorts its nature. A precise knowledge of the Advaita philosophy and a correct estimation of its worth depend very much on a clear and decisive statement of the Advaita view on these fundamental points.

S. C. CHATTERJEE.

Ourselves

[I. Training in the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department.—II. Measure to increase Contact between the Universities in the Dominions and the United Kingdom.—III Expansion of Hostel Accommodation for University Students.—IV. Government Grant to Colleges.—V. A New D.Sc.—VI. P. R. S. in Literary Subjects for 1938.—VII. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Zoology and Botany Prize.—VIII. Presidency College.—IX. Asutosh College, Bhowanipur.—X. City College.—XI. M. C. College, Sylhet.—XII. Rules for Rustication of Students.—XIII. Appointment of the Inspector of Hostels.—XIV. The Appointments Board.—XV. The University Rowing Club in All-India Regatta.]

I. Training in the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department

The Government of India has placed at the disposal of this University facilities for practical training of the students in the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department and has requested that names of students and other particulars may in this connexion be sent to the Electrical Engineer-in-Chief, Alipur, Calcutta.

The University has conveyed its thanks to the Government of India for the offer of these facilities and has requested the Heads of the Departments of Physics and Applied Science and the Lecturer in Communication Engineering to forward to it the names of suitable candidates for this purpose.

* * *

II. Measure to increase contact between the Universities in the Dominions and the United Kingdom

The Imperial Relation Trust has granted a sum of money to the Universities Bureau of the British Empire to arrange visits by persons connected with University Administration from the Dominions to Great Britain and from the latter country to the Dominions. The Secretary of the Bureau has requested the Inter-University Board, India, to give due publicity to this grant and to invite applications which should reach the Secretary, Inter-University Board, India, by the end of the first week of May. The applications should be endorsed by the Head of the University administration and the candidates should normally furnish the names of two persons in Great Britain to whom reference may be made, if necessary.

The selection is expected to be made in June.

* * *

III. Expansion of Hostel Accommodation for University Students

Schemes for the following hostels are being prepared: One Hostel to accommodate 100 women students, one hostel to accommodate 50 to 100 Muslim students, one hostel for 200 Hindu students, and a Central Hostel having accommodation for 250 students belonging to all communities.

* * *

IV. Government Grant to Colleges

Government has provided in the Budget for 1939-40 the sum of Rs. 80,000 (rupees eighty thousand) to be distributed to non-Government Colleges through the University for expenditure of a non-recurring nature on specific purposes like the improvement of equipment, Laboratory, Library, Gymnasium, etc.

The University has fixed the 31st May, as the last date of application by the Colleges, submitting their claims for a share of the grant. The applications will be considered by a committee consisting of following gentlemen:—

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., M.A., B.L.
Professor Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.
Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., D. LITT., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.
The University Inspector of Colleges.

* * *

V. A New D.Sc.

Mr. Susilkumar Ray, M.SC., who submitted the following theses for a doctorate has been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science:— (1) Studies on Polyhalides, (2) Studies on Parachor, and (3) Studies on Reimer and Tiemonn's Reactions.

His work was examined and approved of by a board of examiners consisting of Professor Wilhelm Biltz, Sir Gilbert T. Morgan, D.SC., F.R.S., and Professor James C. Philips, D.SC., F.R.S.

We offer our congratulations to Dr. Ray on his success.

* * *

VI. P. R. S. in Literary Subjects for 1938

Mr. Atindranath Basuthakur, M.A., has been awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1938. This year there were three candidates competing for the Studentship and their work was adjudicated upon by a board of examiners constituted by the following gentlemen: Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., PH.D., Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A. and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D.

* * *

VII. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Zoology and Botany Prize

The 2nd January has been fixed as the last date for submission of thesis for the prize.

Sir Praphullachandra Ray is the donor of this Prize. It will be awarded to a graduate of this University, working in the College of Science, who is judged by his examiners to have done the best piece of research work in Zoology or Botany in alternate years.

* * *

VIII. Presidency College

The Presidency College has been granted affiliation in Biology to the Intermediate standard with effect from the beginning of the next session.

* * *

IX. Asutosh College, Bhowanipur

The Asutosh College has been granted affiliation in Bengali (Second Language) to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the next session (1939-40).

* * *

X. City College

The City College, Calcutta, has been granted affiliation in Biology and Zoology to the Intermediate standard with effect from the next session (1939-40).

* * *

XI. M. C. College, Sylhet

The Murarichand College, Sylhet, has been granted affiliation in Botany to the Intermediate standard with effect from the next session, 1939-40.

* * *

XII. Rules for Rustication of Students

A committee consisting of the following members has been appointed to frame rules relating to rustication and expulsion of students in schools for consideration of the Syndicate:—

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor
The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal
Rai Bahadur Professor Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., D.LITT., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.,
Rev. Allan Cameron, M.A., B.D.

* * *

XIII. Appointment of the Inspector of Hostels

Mr. Birendranath Sen, M.A. (Cantab.), B.SC. (Cal.), Professor of Physics and Mathematics, St. Edmund's College, Shillong and Superintendent of the Government Hostel attached to the Training Section of the College, has been appointed University Inspector of Hostels and Messes, and placed on probation for a period of six months.

* * *

XIV. The Appointments Board

The Appointments Board which was so long on a temporary basis has been made a permanent department of the University at the end of the experimental period of two years.

Mr. Dwijendra Kumar Sanyal has been re-appointed permanent Secretary of the Board with effect from the 1st June, 1939.

In view of the increasing volume of business that the Board has to conduct, it has been decided that the office should be strengthened by the appointment of new hands.

The Secretary is preparing draft rules for the conduct of a recruitment examination which will be soon held in the University to fill subordinate appointments under the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta. The proposal for holding the examination came from the Chairman, Sir Thomas Elderton.

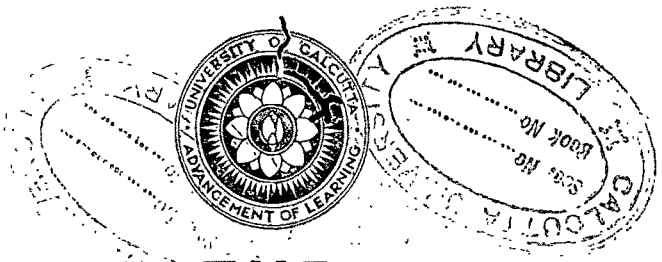
During the period the Board has functioned, its recommendation was accepted to fill 106 vacancies at different Commercial Houses. The Board dealt with 1,821 applications in all. Applications numbering 1,163 were interviewed by the Secretary for the purpose of their enrolment in the Register. Mofussil candidates are not required to interview the Secretary. Their names are included in the Register on the recommendation of local Appointment Advisory Committees attached to different colleges.

* * *

XV. The University Rowing Club in All-India Regatta

The Secretary of the University Rowing Club went to Poona during the Easter Holidays in charge of a crew for participation in the All-India Regatta. A sum of Rs. 600 was granted by the University to defray the expenses of the trip.

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE



THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1939

NEW TENDENCIES IN GERMAN SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY *

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Docteur en géographie honoris causa (Teheran)

ABOUT 1890 German academicians used to think that philosophy had come to an end and all that remained was but to study the history of philosophy. But today the situation has changed, says a paper published in the volume entitled *Aus Fuenfzig Jahren deutscher Wissenschaft* (From Fifty Years of German Science), Berlin, 1930. It is to be understood that philosophy has been established once more fully in its own scientific right. Today it is no longer the naturalistic and relativistic tendency but the idealistic and absolutist that is predominant. The autonomy of the spirit, its speciality and its laws, its freedom and self-direction are the topics of philosophy at the present moment. And in this transformation of philosophical discipline a pioneer is Dilthey (1833-1911). It is Dilthey who combated the naturalistic philosophy of history and sociology. " Back to Fichte and Hegel " is the slogan in contemporary thought.

* Résumé of a talk at *Bangiya Jarman Vidya Samsad* (Bengali Society of German Culture) on March 20, 1939. The material is available in the author's *Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol II; *The Epoch of Neo-Democracy and Neo-Socialism* (1929-38), in the press.

According to Dilthey the Renaissance and the Reformation are not to be distinguished from modern times which continue them. The Middle Ages from which the Renaissance and the Reformation issue are described by Dilthey as representing a progress from the conditions of Greek and Roman antiquities. From ancient metaphysics to modern anthropology the world passes through medieval theology, and this movement is according to him a movement of progress in the straight line and continuous direction. Spengler differs from Dilthey in considering the modern times to be in retrogression although agreeing with him in recognizing the progress of the Middle Ages. Dilthey does not believe in the universality of historic conscience. According to Kant conscience is the categorical imperative and the sovereign good which affects all the human wills universally. But Dilthey believes that there is no good outside the will. Every good alleged to exist outside the will, *i.e.*, every good in itself is only an empty hypostasia of what resides in the will. A duty, simple to discover by everybody and identical everywhere, which will lead to an obligation equally simple and universal, does not exist. In Dilthey's analysis, what exists is the determining motives of human action, and these are the only contents of moral conscience. The diverse ethical systems contradict one another only when each one professes to represent the totality of ethics. There should be no contradiction and they will supplement one another, says Dilthey, if they are considered as different parts of this ethics. The moral organization and the absolute manner with which the conviction apprehends the good are invariable. In other words, the moral law is unconditioned and absolute. But the world of values and the interpretation of the moral organization are variable factors.

From the standpoint of French sociology Erich Unger's *L'Evolution de la Morale en Allemagne et le point de vue de la sociologie française* (Paris)[1] examines all the different schools of ethics in Germany from Kant to Simmel and observes that with hardly any exception the methodology of German ethics is non-sociological. The considerations of *devoir-être*, *i.e.*, what ought to be, have almost entirely eclipsed in German ethical philosophy the considerations of what is, the moral fact. In their regard for the *a priori*, the value, the norm, the spirit and the idea they have practically ignored the most

[1] A paper in the *Revue Philosophique* (Paris), March-April, 1935.

fundamental character of moral life, that morality is *fait d'ici-bas*, a fact of here below.

The French sociological school, on the other hand, is interested in the physico-moral experience, just the items that have been inadequately distinguished by German philosophers. The German investigations are based on the antithesis between nature and spirit, nature and history, nature and culture, nature and society. Such antitheses were created by the romanticists as well as their followers, *e.g.*, Dilthey, Windelband and Rickert. All these go back to the Kantian antithesis, nature *vs.* morality. It is by denying this antithesis that French sociology has commenced its work. For instance, in *La Morale et la Science des Moeurs* (Morality and the Science of Manners) Lévy-Bruhl defines sociology as a novel stage on the way which carries into the sphere of nature the fields which were not considered its part until then. It is nothing short of the annexation of social facts to the reign of nature.

It is entirely illegitimate to place on the same level a morality which comes out of one world, one age, one people or of one tradition, all of which are well determined, and an eternal nature, a starred heaven which has seen and will see this morality as many other moralities. Morality cannot by any means have the same dignity as Nature. But this is what Kant did by establishing, first, the antithesis between morality and nature and, then, an equation between the two. This position is due to his ultra-rationalism, the desire for symmetry, which characterizes eighteenth century thought.

German educational ideals in the first years of the present century were governed more or less by works like Dilthey's *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* (Experience and Poetry), 1906. In contrast with the encyclopædic burden of subjects which dominated the school life of the nineteenth century came the dominance of experiences at random. According to Eduard Spranger's paper in *Aus Fuenfzig Jahren Deutscher Wissenschaft* (Berlin, 1930) this impressionism in pedagogics has subsequently been replaced by *Ausdruckspaedagogik*, the pedagogics of expressions. But this expressionism cannot be the last word in the educational system. The ideology is now moving towards the ethical. Every individual has to decide in the last analysis for the moral obligations. The eternal aim of education is to awaken the inner powers of the individual which are adapted to the objective laws of the moral and cultural structure of the community. There is

a number of original phenomena which once experienced fully by the soul can never disappear from it. It is on such simple and eternal elements that the youth is built up. The subject of study, the methods of application and so forth grow naturally in him as a matter of course. One's own form, individuality—the foundation of eternal structural laws, has to be discovered for every person by the educator.

Hans Freyer, author of *Soziologie als Wirklichkeits-wissenschaft* (Sociology as the Science of Reality) Leipzig, 1930, and *Theorie des objektiven Geistes* (Theory of the Objective Spirit), 1932, is methodologically under the influence of Hegel. The contributions of Freyer carry forward the philosophy of history as represented by Lorenz von Stein (1815-1890) and focus attention on social forms as the forms of life.[2] In contrast with von Wiese, who in his *System der Allgemeinen Soziologie*, Munich, 1933, argues that sociology's business consists in analysing the interhuman (social) relations and social processes or forms and that this science should emancipate itself from all anthropological, historical and other treatments. Freyer rejects the *ueberzeitlich* or timeless categories and emphasizes the linking up of class, city, community, etc., to the epochs. In his judgment all life is historical. He is, therefore, interested supremely in the dynamic, the growth and the development. The analysis of the present order of society and the investigation of its inner structure are to him more important than the merely formal analysis of the social relations. Contact with contemporary politics is a chief feature of his scientific thought. Indeed, in Vol. I of the present author's *Political Philosophies Since 1905* (Madras, 1928) Freyer's *Der Staat* (The State), 1926, was analyzed as embodying some messages calculated to promote the remaking of man.

Writing on " Inward Veracity " in the *Religions of the World*, Vol. II (Papers for the International Parliament of Religions held by the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee, Calcutta, March, 1937), Cay von Brockdorff, observes as follows:

" For thousands of years people were wont to say that there was nothing new under the sun, and such vague and highly popular phrases have even been repeated, and emphatically repeated, by philosophers. It is certainly true that in all philosophizing the

[2] H. Nitzschke's lecture on Three German Sociologists (Toennies, Freyer and von Wiese) at the Bengali Society of German Culture published in the *Calcutta Review* for May, 1934. See J. von Schmid : *Hoofdlijnen der Sociologie* (Amsterdam, 1937), pp. 175-77.

'right' combination of fixed and settled meanings of designations plays an important part, but does that warrant our subscribing to F. Max Mueller's opinion: 'All philosophy can be called a war between the old and the new meanings of words' (*Das Denken im Lichte der Sprache*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 557)? No, it is not really a controversy over words; entirely new ways and possibilities of thought and new methods remould man's mental attitude."

"We must repeatedly revise what we have learnt, says von Brockdorff, "that is to say, our striving after veracity can only take the form of working and co-operating in the progress of the natural sciences and the humanities. In this connection all truth would only be historical, not absolute. Truth is co-operation."

Man's views and notions about truth and reality are taken by v. Brockdorff to mature but slowly; they are only to be found in scientific progress, and in them he is aware of unavoidable sources of error and also of the limits that are set to the possibilities of perception. Participation in such research, however, can produce a love of truth of an almost religious fervour, *i.e.*, can produce a frame of mind which will exclude all toleration of what is obviously false and all sympathy with what is irresponsibly asserted, and which will simply demand that war be declared on what is manifestly untruthful. That would be a good, a really religious war, a sign of a mature mind.

At the International Congress of Population, Berlin, 1935, the Nazi demographic policy is described at length by Wilhelm Frick. He refers, first, to the German Labour Front, the Act for the regulation of national work, compulsory labour service measures, then to the marriage loans and sterilization Acts regarding family life. The economic measures relating to farmers, agricultural loans, inheritance of landed estates, etc. are discussed. About the promotion of large families (*Kinderreiche Familien*) Frick refers to the measures calculated to combat unemployment, and facilities provided for by the income tax legislation. Attention is invited also to the medical examinations, moral considerations and the prevention of diseases. The paper is available in *Bevoelkerungsfragen* edited by Harmsen and Lohse (Munich, 1936). F. Burgdoerfer's *Valk ohne Jugnd* (People without Youth), Berlin, 1932, is an inspirer of the large family movement in Germany. In 1927 Korherr's *Geburtenrueckgang* (Decline in the Birthrate) had been published in the *Sueddeutsche Monatshefte* (Munich) and served to set the ball rolling.

Leopold von Wiese is not in favour of the socialization of religion.[3] "Today there is a tendency," says he, "totally to transfer the significance of human existence to the earthly world, indeed, not often to the sphere of the individual man, but mostly to the great social structures, particularly to the nation, the people and the race. It may not be necessary, in order to make the individual more unselfish and high-minded, to transfer the essence of existence to the supernatural world. The great social generation-structures outlasting millenniums are so constituted that the faith in them evolves the same ethical power as the religions do. The advantage of such a worldly and political conviction, compared with a metaphysical religion is its greater clarity. From there a greater veracity may arise."

Indeed, today the faith in a supernatural world is not in the same degree superseded (as in the nineteenth century) by a materialistic individualism as by the deification of social institutions. It is obvious that in this way the individuals are more forced into the service of social tasks and community life than by any other system. The utilization of personal power for the purposes of the state and the people makes for greater progress.

What concerns the individual in the matter of a purely earthly-social aiming may satisfy the intellect for a short while because of the greater tangibility of the ends, says von Wiese. Besides, the depreciation of human personality to a mere mean tool, created for the service of earthly social structures, makes man inwardly poor, narrow and hard. Therefore, also, his social value becomes diminished, and the great social structures grown so as to form the very centres of ethical life are gradually reduced in efficiency. Even the advantage of greater clarity proves delusive, because the social structures lose their significance when they become self-sufficient.

The *System der Allgemeinen Soziologie* by von Wiese has appeared in English under the title of *Systematic Sociology* (New York), as the joint work of himself and Becker. In their analysis the "marginal man" is the result of individuation in social contacts. He is a human being controlled in part by character-attitudes deriving from a "sacred structure" (*e.g.*, peasant, village, pre-literate community), and in part differentiated and individuated by the influence of a "secular structure" (*e.g.*, large metropolitan centre), but not assimilated to those

[3] A paper for the *Religions of the World* (Calcutta, 1938) Vol. I, pp. 237-38.

portions of that structure (empirically speaking) in which attitudes deriving from sacred structures prevail.[4] In other words, he is at home nowhere; he belongs, in the full sense, to neither the primary nor the secondary culture.

Some of the possible characteristics of such a marginal man may be noted; they are of appreciable importance. One of those most frequently manifest is continuance of the state of crisis because a satisfactory adjustment has not been found; he is in a condition of heightened self-consciousness that frequently leads to aggressive self-assertion if his temperamental attitudes so incline him. If he is not so inclined, but has creative ability, he may achieve fairly adequate or even successful accordance by activity in the field of personal expression; for example, many great poets such as Heine, Shelley, Poe and Dante, have been in one way or another marginal men, although not always a result of sacred strangeness. Some struggle within the personality, however, was at work, and this is of the essence of the marginal man.

Such persons often play a large part in accelerating social change because of their compensatory activity in advocating and instituting changes in the current social standards (*mores*); the mental mobility, the innovating individuation of the fixated marginal man, is, as it were, a permanent neophilia. There is not only inability to resist the new, but aggressive activity in furthering the new. This is frequently exemplified in the advocacy of changes in the political or economic orders by fixated marginal men; the changes advocated may sometimes be "revisionist," but they are more frequently "catastrophic."

The ethno-sociologist Richard Thurnwald exhibits the "Drama of Mankind" in the *Religions of the World* (Papers for the International Parliament of Religions held by the Ramakrishna Centenary Committee, Calcutta, 1937), Vol. II. "I need not, in our age," says he, "depict the infection caused by egocentric and narrow-minded attitudes upon nations and groups. Has it been different in other epochs of history? As far as I can see, essentially not." But there have been periods of crises alternating with more settled and quiet periods. Both these periods are characterized by virtues and vices. Quiet times indulge in debauchery and squandering, and in prejudice and rigidity of thought, while periods of transition are filled with destruction not only of the

[4] The distinction between "sacred structure" and "secular structure" is derived from Toennies: *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 8th edition, 1935) pp 3-7.

obsolete but also of things of permanent value, and are saturated with fanatic struggles not only for ideas but also for illusions.

We only wonder how quickly morals and religion were restored after the cyclone had gone. The forces intrinsic in man cannot for any length of time be obscured. The destruction of certain forms of culture and its morals may be useful for the adaptation of life to new conditions of existence. Thurnwald believes that monstrous and dreadful power of evil, and prodigious and stupendous power for good, are both innate in man.

A position like this would be quite in keeping with the dualistic psychology of the Italian sociologist Pareto's *Mind and Society*.

F. Seldte's *Sozialpolitik im Driten Reich* (Social Policy in the Third Reich), Berlin, 1935, discusses among other things the buildings for the industries and industrial workers such as have been projected since 1933. The rationalization of raw materials is one of the items emphasized in the planned economy of Nazi Germany.

In a lecture before the *Bund der Freunde der Technischen Hochschule* (Munich), 1935, President Schacht of the *Reichsbank* invites attention to the dangers of over-emphasis on the international division of labour. The requirements and ideals of the national economy are stressed. L. Siebert's *Die neuen Wege der deutschen Wirtschaft* (The New Ways of German Economy), Munich, 1936 and M. Frauendorfer's *Idee and Gestalt der staendischen Neuordnung*. (The Idea and Form of New Order in the Class-Structure), Berlin, 1936, describe the economic-political and socio-technocratic transformations in Germany under the Hitler regime.

E. Wiskemann's *Der Weg der deutschen Volkswirtschaftslehre* (The Way of German Economics), Berlin, 1937, finds the principles of Nazi (national socialistic) economics in application in all countries. In the struggle against *laissez faire* economics, says he, "stehen wir Deutsche nicht allein" (we Germans are not alone). Boucke the American economist and Keynes the British are described by him as exponents of the theory which promulgates the disappearance of the free trade period. They have but recognized a state of things which is confirmed by the economic policy of all countries, says he.

Der Vierjahresplan (Berlin), the monthly journal dealing with the Four-Year Plan introduced by Goering in January, 1937, publishes regular reports about the artificial creation of raw materials by engineers and chemists. The *Schaffendes Volk* (Creative People)

Exhibition organized at Duesseldorf makes the people and the market familiar with synthetic rubber, *Zellwolle* (fibre wool), elimination of wastes, utilization of bye-products, etc. Economic *Autarkie* (autarchy) or self-sufficiency, corresponding somewhat as it does to Indian *Swadeshi*, is a prominent feature of the German Four-Year Plan as in the Italian economy since 1935-36. For Germany this is really the commencement of the second Four-Year Plan. The first Four-Year Plan may be said to have been inaugurated in 1933 with the establishment of the Hitler-State. Paul Hoevel's *Grundfragen deutscher Wirtschftspolitik* (Fundamental Problems of German Economic Policy), Berlin, 1935, describes the economic developments of Germany in the most diverse directions since the world economic crisis of 1929-32.

Anton Reithinger says in *Das Wirtschaftliche Gesicht Europas* (The Economic Face of Europe), Stuttgart, 1936, that the Great War has seriously damaged the dominant position of Europe in two continents, America and Asia. The industrial output of the extra-European world has already gone beyond the position of 1927-29 and its foreign trade that of 1913-14. But Europe's indices indicate much lower levels. The ideology of a Pan-Europa has materially suffered on account of the recent international incidents between the European peoples. But the necessity of establishing an agreement about their fundamental interests as well as the conception of the community of their destiny are becoming prominent on account of the progress of events in the Far East and the increasing separation of the North American continent from Europe. The fundamental economico-political and socio-economic problem of Europe is envisaged by Reithinger as consisting in the diversity of Eastern and Southern Europe (with its lack of capital and low standard of life combined with over-population) from Western and Northern Europe (with its low rates of interest, high wages and under-population). *Cf.* Delaisi: *Les deux Europes* (Paris, 1929) and Woytinsky: *Die Tatsachen und Zahlen Europas* (Berlin, 1930).

The study of heredity has been acquiring a special prominence in the entire range of social philosophy. According to Mezger's *Kriminalpolitik auf Kriminologischer Grundlage* (Crime-policy on Criminological Foundation), Stuttgart, 1934, an extreme environmental or sociological theory is in its crime-policy unacceptable to the totalitarian state. The individual is responsible for crime. The Nazi

race-law has, therefore, the object of preventing diseased heredity in the rising generation (*Gesetz zur Verhuetung erbranken Nachwuchses*), because it is believed that diseased heredity and criminality go together.

German ideas on the Orient and the ancient world have likewise been undergoing transformation. Academic orientalists like Lueders, von Glasenapp, Breloer and others have been exhibiting the secular and worldly aspects of Hindu culture. Several years ago were published two volumes of Hartmut Piper's *Die Gesetze der Weltgeschichte*: (1) *Der Gesetzmaessige-Lebenslauf der Voelker Chinas und Japans* (1929), and (2) *Indien* (1931), Leipzig.

Hartmut Piper is interested not so much in the archæological and antiquarian aspects of Chinese and Japanese history as in the interpretation of well-known data bearing on the developments of life and thought in Eastern Asia from the standpoint of comparative race-biology. The methods that he has applied in the study of European culture-history he has applied to the historical facts of China and Japan also. Every reader, even if he be a specialist in Chinese and Japanese questions, will be agreeably surprised to discover many parallelisms and identities with the expressions of European civilization such as have as a rule been overlooked in conventional treatises on history.

Piper's scheme is as follows: For every culture-system he recognizes seven biological ages—(1) patriarchal childhood (monarchy), (2) youth (aristocracy), (3) early manhood (absolutism), (4) full manhood (constitutionalism), (5) late manhood (imperialism), (6) old age (Caesarism), (7) senility (marasmus, decay). One would be easily reminded of Spengler's classification into seasons of cultural life. But Piper's speciality consists in pointing out categorically how the features of Chinese and Japanese civilization have been similar to those of the European although in different epochs of time. And to this extent the present writer's standpoints in *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai, 1916) and in *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1922) may be said to have been considerably verified and enlarged in Piper's contributions. Naturally, however, when one tries to divide manhood itself into three different stages—early, full, late—one can hardly avoid an over-fineness in analysis which can very often appear to be but strained and unconvincing.

Piper discovers the same laws of universal history in the biography of the Indian peoples. There was a time when scholars used to take

pride in discovering and emphasizing the differences between race and race in regard to the achievements of civilization. The alleged distinction between the East and the West has long remained the stock in trade not only of Orientalists but of all sociologists, culture-historians, and philosophers who take their cue from Orientalists and who propagate the political ideology of chauvinism and imperialism. Piper's work on India like that on China and Japan is well calculated to cry a halt to this sort of cheap specialism in Oriental lore and compel scholars as well as statesmen to revise their orientations in regard to Asia. Piper is naturally being challenged by the exponents of the *status quo*. But he is substantially backed by the laborious researches and investigations of culture-historians like Hermann Goetz. Piper is more at home in literature than in institutions. His analysis appears very often, therefore, to be more metaphysical than factual. His equations between Indian celebrities of diverse epochs and those of the West look very often like mere shadowy parities rather than concrete realities. But all the same, Piper has succeeded in rescuing India from the sidetracks of splendid isolation to which she had been forced for nearly two generations. It is just good and right that he considers Goethe to be one of his spiritual predecessors in this work. For it requires to be well-known that Goethe was one of the very first to discover the fundamental identity between India and Europe.

DISCIPLE: 1938 A.D.

Into Your care, O Lord, I gave my mind,
And to Your creed my uttermost belief.
I turned the other cheek—and came to grief.
I sought, returning good for ill, to bind
With love my enemy and all mankind.
Scorned for my pains, to every impulse deaf
That counselled anger, pride, however brief,
I still kept faith—bowed, bloodied, and resigned.

And so at last, O Shepherd, I that gave
Myself into Your keeping, here I stand:
An alien in the world, despoiled, unmanned;
Driven from place to place, a hunted slave.
And nothing left me of Your heavenly creed
But a dead heart, with no more blood to bleed!

GUSTAV DAVIDSON.

SHAYKH SHARAF-UD-DIN AHMAD YAHYA OF MUNAYR

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SHAYKH Sharaf-ud-Dīn Aḥmad was born on last Friday in the month of Shâbān in 661/1262 in the village of Munayr,[1] which lies at a distance of sixty miles from the town of "Bihar" now known as Bihar Sharīf. He is known by his surname Sharaf-ul-Ḥaq Wal Millat Wad-Dīn, and also by his titles Shaykhul Islām Wal Muslimīn, Sulṭānul Muḥaqqīqīn and Makhdum-ul-Mulk, etc. etc.

He was born at the time when Nasīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 664/1266), the pious king sat on the throne of Delhi, while Bagdad boasted of Al-Ḥakīm bi-Amrillah as its Caliph.

The name of Sharaf-ud-Dīn's father was Yaḥya. Yaḥya's grand father was Mawlānā Tāj Faqīh, who is said to have come to Bihar and to have settled at Munayr from Palestine.

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn's line of ancestors, on the father's side extends as far back as 'Abdul Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's grand-father, and on the mother's side to Caliph 'Alī (d. 40/660).

Yaḥya was proverbially known for piety and his wife, Rābia,[2] Sharaf-ud-Dīn's mother was equally proverbial for godliness.

She was called Rābia II for her virtues.

Mawlāna Tāj Faqīh did immense service to Islam by his residence at Munayr. His wife died here. He then bade good-bye to Munayr all alone, leaving his sons behind, and returned to his native place.

1 "Munair, Maner or Munair," is a very old place on the right bank of the Sone at its confluence with the Ganges.

Elliot Dawson erroneously confounds it sometimes with Munger. Firishta ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Firoz Rai, son of Kesha Ray, a contemporary of the hero Rustam.....General Cunningham in his Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. VIII (pp.22-23) offers a theory of his own about the establishment of Muner, immediately after the Muhammadan Conquest.....Baber in his memoirs (p. 478) describes its situation in the following words :—

"Down the stream from the place where I was, I saw a large number of trees. They said to me that it was Munery."

Baber and Sikandar Shah Lodi are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahya, father of Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Din (Tarikh-i Daūdī in Elliot Dowson, History Vol. IV, p. 462 : Baber memoirs 478).....Muner now belongs to the district of Patna J.A.R.S.B., Vol. XXXVII, p. 7.

2 Rabia, the famous woman saint of Basra. She died in 185/801.

He then married his sister-in-law by whom he had a son, named Shāh 'Abdul' 'Azīz.

It appears that Mawlānā Tāj did not return to Munayr, but passed the rest of his life in Quds-i-Khalīl. Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz came to Munayr to meet his step-brother.

The author of the Manāqib-ul-Aṣfiyā happens to be the grandson of Shāh 'Abdul' 'Azīz.

Shaykh Yaḥya had four sons in all. Shaykh Jalīl-ud-Dīn, Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, Shaykh Khalīl-ud-Din and Shaykh Habīb-ud-Dīn.

The house wherein Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn was born could still be traced in Munayr and it is revered as a shrine.

Education

As S. Sharaf-ud-Dīn grew in years, he was sent to school. After the fashion of the day, he was given elemetary education, which was far from satisfactory, judged by modern standards. He says:—

در ایام خوردگي چندین کتابها مارا یاد کرانیدند - چنانکه مصادر و مفتاح اللغت - [1]

In my boyhood they made me get by heart many books *e.g.*, for instance, the Masādir and the Miftāḥ-ul-Lughāt.

It is difficult to trace his teachers of this period. It was at this stage that Delhi witnessed certain important political changes. The slave dynasty came to power. Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Abu Tawāma was an accomplished scholar with a large following. He was looked upon as a source of menace to the government. He was ordered to quit the city by the then reigning Sultan.

He thus made his way to Bengal taking his family with him. His brother, Mawlāna Hafīz Zain-ud-Dīn also accompanied him thither.

The party while starting for Sonargaon[2] halted at Munayr.

[1] M'adan-ul-Maānī (Patna Ed.), Part 1, p. 43.

[2] Sonargaon—"Ancient Muhammadan capital of East Bengal in the Narayanganj Sub-Division of Dacca District.....Sonargaon was the residence of the Muhammadan Governors of Eastern Bengal from 1351 to 1608, when the capital of the whole province was transferred to Dacca. The only remaining traces of its former grandeur on some ruins in and near the insignificant village of Panam, about 6 miles East of Naryanganj. Hardly is Magrapara where there was a mint...While Sonorgaon was the seat of Government, it was a place of considerable commercial importonce and was famous for its cloths and muslins; it was the Eastern terminus of the Grand Trunk Road made by Sher Shah. (Arc. Survey of India Reports, Vol. XV, Cunnigham, pp. 135-145.

Shaykh Yahya received the party with open arms and it stayed there for some time as his honoured guest.

Thus Sharaf-ud-Dīn, who hankered after knowledge, came across a distinguished scholar in Abu Tawāma and desired to accompany him to Sonargaon. Yaḥya permitted his son to do so and accordingly he went with the party to Sonargaon and stayed there for some time. While there he evinced great interest in his studies and became proficient in all the branches of Muslim learning *viz.*, the commentary on the Qurān, Tradition, Jurisprudence, Theology, Logic, Philosophy, Mathematics, etc., and his works are full of eloquent suggestions on these points.

After completing his studies Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn, better known by his title Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, turned his attention to ṣūfism. He passed much of his time in meditation and spiritual exercises and became a proficient in it.

This was the beginning of the part which he was to play in the future as a director of human souls. He says:—

احکام مذهب دین طائفه (صوفیه) در کتب و تصانیف ایشان سالها باز مطالعه کرده شده است [1]

The basic principles of this sect (sufīs) as embodied in their works, have been studied by me for years.

Marriage

While at Sonargaon, he had at first no inclination for marriage for a considerable period of time, as devotion to knowledge occupied his sole attention. It is stated that Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn was attacked with some severe disease, and doctors advised him marriage as the only remedy.

Mawlānā Abū Tawāma wanted to marry his daughter to Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, who agreed to the proposal after some hesitation.[2] Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had three sons by his wife. Two of them died in infancy at Sonargaon, while one, *viz.*, Shāh Dhakī-ud-Dīn survived and later on accompanied his father on his return to his native land.

1 Maktubūt-i-Du Sadī maktub 81, p. 270 (Sharāf Press, Bihar), 1306 A.H.

2 Some are of opinion that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk was married to the slave-girl of his teacher. But there seems to be no authority for this.

While at Sonargaon, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk was absorbed in his studies. He paid no heed to the letters he received from home, as mentioned above, which were put into a bag and forgotten, and this was opened only after he had given a finishing touch to his educational career. To his dismay, he found a letter there containing news of his father's demise on the 11th Shâbān 690/1291. He informed his father-in-law of this catastrophe. He was then permitted to return to his native place with his son Shāh Dhakī-ud-Dīn in the same year or in the beginning of the following year.

On reaching home he passed some time to the satisfaction of his mother.

But, as we know, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had already set his face against this world and hankered after spiritual food, over the acquisition of which he spent considerable time and energy. His mother, as hinted above, was a pious lady. It was at this stage that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk addressed his mother thus: "Mother, remain satisfied with Dhakī and allow me to travel in the path of God."

Now the drama, of which the early career of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk forms the prologue begins.

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn was permitted by his mother to travel in the path of God. He started in quest of a spiritual director and reached Delhi, which was then the rendezvous of saints and holy men. Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn was regarded as the chief priest.

The meeting between Sharaf-ud-Dīn and the chief priest of Delhi is a matter of dispute among biographers.

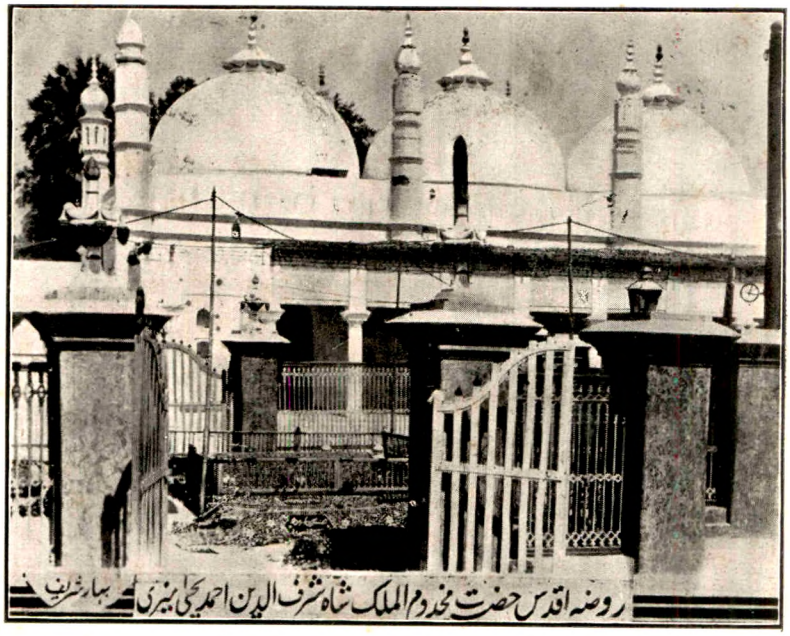
Abul Faḍl and Shaykh 'Abdul Ḥaq of Delhi are among those who hold the view that the meeting did not take place at all and that Sharaf-ud-Dīn reached Delhi when Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn had already passed away.

Abul Faḍl writes:—

و بآرزوی دیدن شیخ نظام اولیا با مهین برادر خرد شیخ جلال الدین محمد بدهلی آمد - شیخ در گذشته بود [1]

"And in the desire of seeing Shaykh Nizamud [-Din] Awliya he went to Delhi with his eldest brother Shakh Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad. The Shaykh meanwhile had passed away."

[1] Āina-i-Akbarī, Vol. II (Bib. Indica Series, p. 219), Jarret, Vol. III, p. 370.



The Mausoleum of Ḥaḍrat Makhdūm-ul-mulk Shaykh Aḥmad Yaḥya of Munayr

By Courtesy of
MESSRS. RASHID & Co.
Bihar-Sharīf.

Shaykh 'Abdul Ḥaq observes: —

گویند که شیخ شرف الدین بشوق بندگی شیخ نظام الدین اولیا بدهلی آمد - قضارا پیش از آنکه او بدهلی برسد شیخ نظام الدین ریاض رضوان خرامیده بود [1]

'It is said that Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn came to Delhi to accept the discipleship of Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn Awliyā. By chance before he could reach Delhi, the Shaykh had already walked into the gardens of Paradise (*i.e.*, was dead). On the other hand, the author of the Manāqib-ul-Aṣfiyā, the author of the Laṭāīf-ul-Ashrafī, Firishta, etc., hold that Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn had the honour of visiting Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn, but as God willed otherwise, he could not become Shaykh's murīd.

Hājjī Nizām-ud-Dīn Gharīb Yamanī, the compiler of the Latāīf-ul-Ashrafī observes:—

حضرت شیخ شرف الدین بعد از تحصیل علوم شرعیه و تکمیل ریاضات اصلیه و فرعیه بشرف ملازمت حضرت سلطان المشائخ بدهلی تشریف بردند و استدعا ارادت و ارشاد کردند - استفسار از عالم غیبی و قضای لاریبی کردند - و سر بجیب استغراق کشیده بر آوردند و فرمودند - برادر شرف نصیب ارادت و حصول سلوک از برادرم نجیب الدین فردوسی است [2]

His Holiness Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn, after having finished the acquisition of religious sciences and having undergone religious exercises in their principal and detailed forms, came to visit Sultan-ul-Mashāikh at Delhi and desired to be accepted as a disciple. The Shaykh bent down his head to seek permission from the unseen world and then raised his head and said, "Brother Sharaf-ud-Dīn, you have your portion under the care of our brother, Najīb-ud-Dīn Firdawsī,

The following saying is also attributed to Shaykh Nizam-ud-Dīn Awliyā.

این سیمرغیست که نصیب دام مانیست

'It is a simurg (griffin) which is not the portion of our snare.'

[1] Akhbār-ul-Akhyār (Delhi ed.), p. 118.
[2] Sīrat-i-Sharaf (Patna Ed.), p. 61.

When Makhdūm-ul-Mulk went to visit the Shaykh of Delhi, he received him with honour befitting his rank, but declined to accept him as his disciple with the above mentioned remarks.

Firishta observes:—

در همان ایام شیخ شرف الدین احمد سبزواري [منیری] و برادر بزرگ او شیخ جلال الدین بقصد ارادت به دهلی آمدند - و شیخ (نظام الدین) را دریافته خواستندند که مرید شوند لیکن شیخ فرمود که حوالهٔ شما بخانوادهٔ فردوسیان است [1]

In those days Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Aḥmad (Sabzwārī) of Munayr and his elder brother Shaykh Jalīl-ud-Dīn [Jalāl-ud-Dīn] came to visit the Shaykh (Nizam-ud-Dīn) of Delhi and to become his disciple but the latter remarked, ' You are meant for the Firdawsī order.'

Thus there are two contradictory opinions with regard to the meeting between the Saint of Delhi and Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn. I am inclined to hold the view that they met, for the following reasons.

A. *Internal evidence*:

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn writes in his Màdan-ul-Maâni:—

مولانا ضیاء الدین سنامي هم محدث بود و مفسر - روزی من در تذکیر ایشان حاضر بودم [2]

Mawlānā Ḍiya-ud-Dīn Sanāmī was a traditionist and also a commentator on the Qurān. One day I attended his sermons.

From the extracts quoted above, it is clear that Ḍiyā-ud-Dīn Sanāmī was alive when Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn was at Delhi and probably he had the occasion to meet him.

B. *External evidence*:

Shaykh ' Abdul Ḥaq writes in his Akhbār-ul-Akhyār:—[3]

(مولانا ضیاء الدین) معاصر شیخ نظام الدین بود - و دائم به شیخ از جهت سماع احتساب کردے - و شیخ باری جزبه معذرت و انقیاد پیش نه آمدی - شیخ نظام الدین اولیا در

1 Firishta, Vol. II p. 396 (Nawalkishore ed. 1321 A. H.)
2 Mādan-ul-Mā'ānī, (Sharaful Akhliār Press, Bihar), Part I, Chap. XII, p. 117.
3 Akhbār-ul Akhyār (Delhi ed.), p. 109.

مرض موت مولانا ضیاء الدین سنامي به عیادت رفت - مولانا دستار چهٔ خود را به پای انداز شیخ انداخت - شیخ دستار چه بر چیید - و بر چشم نهاد - و چون پیش مولانا بنشست مولانا چشم باری دو چار کرد - و چون برخاست و بیرون آمد آواز فوت مولانا برخاست - شیخ میگریست و تاسف می کرد که یک ذات بود حامی شرع حیف که آن نیز نه ماند -

Mawlānā Ḍiyaud-Dīn Sanāmi, was the contemporary of Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn. He always found fault with the Shaykh for his indulgence in music, and the Shaykh did not receive him but with excuse and submission..... ..; Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn went to see Mawlānā Ziauddīn, while he was on death-bed. The latter threw his turban at the feet of the Shaykh, who took it up and placed it on his eyes.

When he sat down before the Mawlānā, he did not look at him, and when he woke up, the cry was heard that the former was no more.

The Shaykh wept and expressed his sorrow. 'There was one personality, upholder of law. It is sad that it too has passed away.'

From the above extracts, it is abundantly clear that Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn was alive at the time of the death of Mawlānā Ḍiyā-ud-Dīn.

It does not stand to reason that Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn, who left home in search of a spiritual director and came to the seat of Government, which was the rendezvous of saints and holy men, with Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn as their head could not have met him.

We are led, therefore, to assume that he had the privilege of meeting the famous saint of Delhi.

As hinted above, Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn, when he attended the assembly held by the saint, was asked to meet His Holiness Najīb-ud-Dīn Firdawsī. S. Sharaf-ud-Dīn returned with his brother to Panipat quite disappointed. Here he met Sharaf-ud-Dīn of Panipat and observed about him : "He is a Shaykh, but has no self-control."

1 "Village in the head-quarters sub-division of Shahabad, Bengal.....on the East Indian Railway, 382 miles from Calcutta.....
Bihiya is best known for manufacture of iron sugarcane mills, which are now in general use throughout Northern India." (Imperial Gazetter of India, Vol. VIII, p. 171.)

Now he was advised by his brother, who was with him to return to Delhi once more to meet Shaykh Najīb-ud-Dīn Firdawsī, whom he praised in lavish terms.

Sharaf-ud-Dīn replied "I was rejected by the Quṭb of Delhi. I do not see any good in seeing any other saint."

But when his brother still exhorted him, he gave way and proceeded towards Najīb-ud-Dīn.

When he reached the place, he was awed and on approaching him, he was full of a tremble and perspired. Then he submitted that he might be accepted as a disciple.

The Shaykh complied with his request then and there and made to him the letter of authority (the Ijāzat Nama) empowering him to accept others as disciples. He then bade him farewell, exhorting him not to return even if he heard any sad news.

After he had proceeded on his return journey some miles, he heard the sad news of the demise of his spiritual master. He was overwhelmed with sorrow and would go back, but the instructions of his preceptor prevented him.

He then proceeded homewards. When he reached the the jungles of Bihiya[1] he got out of control and ran into the wild. His brother, who was with him, could do nothing. He simply gazed at him. Consequently he had to return home all alone and carried with him the letter of authority and other articles, granted to Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn by his spiritual director.

Wanderings:— It is generally stated that he spent about twelve years in these jungles. It is difficult to get any authentic account of his life during this period, excepting what we learn through himself or some of his disciples or reliable biographers. He also spent many years in the jungles of Rajgir.[2] It is equally difficult to know the account of his life during this period, but it is related that he scarcely came across any human being during these rambles.

It is related that somebody saw him once in these jungles of Rajgir but suddenly he disappeared.

1 *Vide* foot notes on a preceding page.

2 Rajgir—a town in the Bihar Sub-division on B. B. Light Railway.

It was identified by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton with Rajagriha, the residence of Buddha and capital of ancient Magadha; and by General Cunnigham with Kusanagara—Pusa (the town of the Kusgran) visited by Hien Tsiung and called by him Kin-She-to-pu-lo..... ...

It is also described by Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiung, the Chinese pilgrims, the latter of whom, gives an account of the hot springs found at this place.

(Imperial Gazetter of India, Vol. XXI, p. 72.) This is a placé of pilgrimage.

Some other person saw him in a certain jungle. He was in deep meditation and stood by the branch of a tree, while ants freely went into and came out of his throat, and he did not feel it.

It appears that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had a cell of his own at Rajgir, before he settled in Bihar. His cell—a miraculous cell, existing over 600 years, still bears eloquent testimony to the spiritual greatness of its occupant.

Those who have seen it may well realise its importance and the awe and veneration it inspires in the heart of those who look at it. After Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had settled in Bihar, he often came to Rājgīr and stayed there for some time.

The author of the Manāqib-ul-Aṣfiyā observes :—

تا درپای قوت بود بیرون میرفت - یکان دوگان ماهی بیرون می ماند - مدتی بر ایں طریق گذشت [1]

So long as he had strength in his legs he could walk and would remain out for some time—a month or two. Thus time went on.

It has been mentioned above that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk passed many years in the jungles of Bihiya and Rajgir.

Some interesting anecdotes that relate to the events of this period may be mentioned below :—

(1) While in the jungle of Bihiya, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk one day came across some one named Chulhāi, who tended his flock of cattle. The Makhdūm felt very thirsty. He came to Chulhāi and wanted some milt from him. "There is no milk," replied Chulhāi, "My cow does not yield milk. It is only a filly." But Makhdūm persisted in his request.

Being enraged, Chulhāi began to milk the filly. Lo ! to the astonishment of the cowherd, it yielded milk with which the pot was filled up.

Chulhāi was overjoyed at this and he fell at the feet of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk. He then renounced this world and became one of his staunch followers. [2]

(2) It is related on the authority of Qāḍī Zāhid that he enquired of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk about his devotional exercises of this period.

[1] Sirat-i-Sharaf (Patna Ed.), p. 71.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 78.

" I did not taste any food for thirty years," replied the Shaykh, " but in times of extreme hunger, I satisfied myself with the leaves of trees." [1]

(3) It is also related on the same authority that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk reached a spot, where there were some cows and the cowherd was sleeping nearly. Makhdūm took a fancy to a certain cow and began to gaze at it. Some women, one of whom was a witch, passed by. She practised a charm upon the cow and it died. The cowherd who was asleep, woke up and found him there, while the women were out of sight. He beat Makhdūm-ul-Mulk with a stick, blaming him for causing the death of the cow. The Shaykh said to him, " If your cow revives, will you spare me ?" " O, yes," replied he. He ran to the woman and implored her to bring the dead cow to life. She practised some charm and the cow got up.

Makhdūm-ul-Mulk says that he took much delight in thus being beaten by the cowherd, inasmuch as it affected his lowerself which benefited him spiritually.[2]

His Residence in Bihar

After Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn left the jungles of Rājgīr, he came to the town of Bihar and settled there. In the beginning he used to come to the town once a week to say his Jumá prayers and then returned to Rājgīr.

Thus many days rolled on. At this time Bihar contained many disciples of Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn Awliyā, who often went to meet Makhdūm-ul-Mulk in the jungles, when they heard of his greatness. Nizām Mawlā was one of those sincere people who was keen in this respect. They requested the Shaykh to stay out for a day or two in Bihar and to influence them by his teaching and association. To this he consented and some time passed in this way.

Then they resolved to fix a permanent place, for Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, wherein he should stay and benefit seekers after truth.

It is likely to have taken place between A. H. 720-724 for reasons noted below.

Mukhdūm-ul-Mulk accepted the discipleship of Najīb-ud-Dīn Firdawsī in 691/1291 and is said to have spent about thirty years in jungles engaged in devotional exercises.

[1] Sirat-i-Sharaf (Patna Ed.) p.75.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

It was during his stay at Bihar when Shaykh Zāhid is said to have asked him, " Who is the lover of God in India?" " That mad man of Panipat, *i.e.*, Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn," was the reply.

This Sharaf-ud-Dīn died in 724 A. H.

Thus we can fix the date of Makhdum's taking up his residence in Bihar between 721-724 A. H.

It was at this stage that Nizām Mawlā built a house for Makhdūm-ul-Mulk who was very austere in his habits, outside the town, where the friends of Shaykh Nizām-ud-Dīn invited him to sit on the prayer-carpet, which he did at their request, remarking, "Friends, your association led me to sit in the temple (*i.e.*, of pride or self-hood)."

As we know Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq ascended the throne of Delhi in 725/1324. He was a man well-known for his whims. He sent for pious people and entrusted them with high responsibilities, and if they refused to accept office they would be persecutad. Thus Shaykh Naṣīrud-Dīn Maḥmud was entrusted with some responsible office; when he declined to accept it, he was persecuted. Sayyid Jalāl of Bukhara was placed in charge of the monastery to give food to the poor. Ibn Baṭṭuta on his arrival in Delhi was appointed Qāḍī against his will. Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq issued a royal mandate to Majd-ul-Mulk[1] to construct a monastery for Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn of Munayr and to assign " Pargana " Rajgir to him for necessary expenses instructing that it might be thrust upon him in case he declined to accept the offer.

The Sultan sent one Balgharian prayer-carpet also for Makhdūm-ul-Mulk as a mark of his royal insignia. Majdul-Mulk approached Makhdūm-ul-Mulk with these words, " I cannot venture to offer you the presents which the Sultan has ordered me to. But if your Holiness does not condescend to accept them I shall incur royal displeasure." Makhdūm-ul-Mulk then accepted the offer at the supplication of Majdul-Mulk.

A convent was constructed in due course inside which a cell was made for the residence of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk and the Bulgarian carpet was spread on which he took his seat.

It is difficult to mention the exact date when this convent was constructed and Rajgir given in Jagir.

[1] Some high official of Bihar.

There is a reference to this in the Mádan-ul-Ma'ānī, which contains the letters written by Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn before A.H. 746/1345.

Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq ascended the throne in 725/1324. So we can fix a date between A.H. 725 and A.H. 746, as the year when Rājgīr was given in Jagir to the Shaykh of Bihar.

After Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had settled in Bihar, his mother and most of his relations followed suit. His disciples and admrus flocked round him and the number began to increase from day to day till it rose very high. Makhdūm-ul-Mulk passed the remainder of his life, a period of about sixty years, in Bihar, although he went off and on into the jungles and mountains and spent a month or so there.

The period of his life, which he spent in Bihar is reflected in his utterances, which are preserved till to-day in the form of letters and which serve as a guide to seekers after truth. Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had a large circle of disciples and devotees. He taught them high principles of morality. His teachings were based on exoteric and esoteric sciences. His assembly was like the assembly of the Prophet, orthodox Caliphs, Shaykhs of Islam and he did not deviate at all from the established standard.

A detailed criticism of his teachings is not possible in a paper like this. The following may be mentioned among his important disciples and vice-regents:—

(1) Mawlānā Muẓaffaruddīn Balkhī
(2) Zain Badr-i-'Arabī
(3) Mawlānā Husayn Nawsha Tawḥīd
(4) Mawlānā Shams-ud-Dīn etc. etc.

Makhdūm-ul-Mulk and Kings of Delhi

It is generally stated that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk attained to a ripe old age of 120 years. He was born in 661/1262 and died in 782/1380. During this long period he witnessed many important political changes in the country. Many kings were crowned and passed away during the life-time of the Shaykh of Bihar, one after another. Sultan Naṣīr-ud-Din Maḥmūd, Sultan Ghyath-ud-Dīn Balban, Mu'īz-ud-Dīn Kay Ḳubād, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khalji, Shihāb-ud-Dīn 'Umar, Qutb-ud-Din Tughlaq, Sultan Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq, Firūz Shāh-ibn-Sālār Rajab. These changes fraught with far-reaching consequences could not but produce an effect upon the contemplative mind

of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk. He understood this world with all its grandeur and pomp and he kept himself aloof from it as far as possible.

His society was not limited to disciples and devotees, men of learning and scholarship, saints and sufis, but it included kings and princes, governors and high officials, and people from all ranks and all nationalities. Sultan Muḥammad, Majdul-Mulk, Prince Mubārak..... of Bihar, Mawlānā Ṣadruddin, Nāib Qaḍī of Sonargaon and many more cultivated his society and held him in great honour.

But Makhdūm-ul-Mulk's attachment towards them was not for any personal gain or influence, but for doing good to humanity at large through his association with them. This fact is quite clear from his non-attachment policy, when he went to Delhi to return the farmans to the Sultan, relating to Rājgīr, which was granted to him as Jāgīr some years ago.

He cared nothing for worldy influence and affluence. He lived a most ascetic life. He lived on dry bread and water. He did not permit herth in his home.

The following anecdote, based on the authority of the Mūnis-ul-Qulūb, will bear out this point:

Once Makhdūm-ul-Mulk saw smoke rising from his inner apartment. He asked Shaykh Chulhāi as to its cause and enquired if the portion allotted to his mother was duly arranged for her. S. Chulhāi submitted, "She has undoubtedly received her portion." But an enquiry revealed that a Makhdum's relation had come for whom his mother was cooking bread and fowl. He submitted, " Mother! I made a condition with you and you are violating it." The mother was a pious lady and she at once gave up cooking the fowl.

From the above anecdote we can infer how asceticism had influenced the character of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk. He abstained even from things that were allowable and he never cared for 'creature comforts.'

His Character

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn was an erudite scholar. He was also a Ṣūfi saint of great eminence. He followed the Sunna of the Prophet to the very letter. His heart was full of 'the milk of human kindness.' He was very affable in manners and humble in mind. He loved and respected his disciples. He was extremely tolerant in his views. He was above bias and bigotry. He held discussions with his opponents

in a most tolerant way and never lost his temper. He served humanity in a most loving fashion. His assembly was the rendezvous of scholars and men of letters of all shades of opinion; and he conversed with them to the entire satisfaction of all of them. Those who wanted to ask him questions could do so freely and had all their doubts cleared up. His life was really a life of miracles, though he avoided miracles as such.

His Family Life

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn married the daughter of Mawlānā Abu Tawāma, as mentioned above. He had three sons by her. Two of them died in infancy, while the third one, named Dhakī survived.

Dhakī died during the life-time of his father, leaving a daughter behind, named Barika. She was married to Sayyid Wajīh-ud-Dīn Riḍwī, the nephew of Shaykh Najīb-ud-Dīn Firdawsī. She gave birth to a daughter, Ṭuhra by name, who was married to Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ālawī Ṭūsī, who had two sons, Shaykh 'Ālīm-ud-Dīn and Shaykh Imām-ud-Dīn. After some time when the descendants of Ḥusayn Balkhi Nawsha Tawḥīd relinquished their rights on the spiritual succession of Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn, the descendants of Bārika were made Sajjada Nashin, (*i.e.*, spiritual heads of the line of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk). Shāh Bikh was the first of this line and his descendants, one after another, were the trustees of the convent of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk. Although the lineal descendants of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk are limited, his followers, who are no less than his descendants, are spread all over the Islamic India and abroad.

His Spiritual Lineage

The lineage of Makhdum-ul-Mulk in spiritual order, may be given as follows:—

Muḥammad, the Prophet (ob. 632 A.D.)
Imām Ālī (ob. 961 A.D.)
,, Ḥusayn (ob. 680 A.D.)
,, Zain-ul-'Abidīn (ob. 711 A.D.)
,, Md. Bāqir (ob. 736 A.D.)
,, Ja'far-i-Sādiq (ob. 765 A.D.)
,, Mūsi Kāẓim (ob. 799 A.D.)

Imām 'Alī Riḍâ (ob. 818 A.D.)
Máruf-i-Karkhī (ob. 855 A.D.)
Sari Saqaṭi (ob. 867 A.D.)
Junayd of Baghdad (ob. 909 A.D.)
Khwāja Mamshād Dinawarī (ob. 911 Ā.D.)
Khwaja Aḥmad Aswad Dinawarī (ob. 977 A.D.)
Muḥammad b. 'Adullah 'Amawiyah (ob. 983 A.D.)
Wajīh-ud-Dīn Abu Ḥafs (ob. 1171 A.D.)
Ḍiyā-ud-Dīn Abū Najīb Suhrawadī (ob. 1167 A.D.
Najm-ud-Dīn Kubra (ob. 1220 A.D.)
Khwāja Saif-ud-Dīn Bākharazī (ob. 1259 A.D.)
Khwāja Badruddin Samarqandī (ob. 1316 A.D.)
Rukn-ud-Dīn Firdawsī (ob. 1346 A.D.)
Khawaja Najīb-ud-īn Firdawsī (ob. 1331 A.D.)
Shaykh Sharaf-ūd-Dīn
Aḥmad Yaḥya of Munayr (ob. 1380 A.D.)

Last Days

Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn (Makhdūm-ul-Mulk) was a Ṣūfi of eminence of the eighth century of the Hijra era. By virtue of rigid discipline and devotional exercises for many long years, he attained to perfection. His heart was the mirror in which he could behold the unseen face of the True Beloved.

He took upon himself the task of serving humanity.

When he grew very old (as he is said to have lived over 100 years), even then he carefully performed the minutest details of the daily round of his duty. The last hours of his life are described by a disciple of his, *viz.*, Shaykh Zain Badr-i-'Arabī. He says on the 5th of Shawwāl, Wednesday, 782/1380, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk lay down on the prayer carpet after his morning prayer. His brother Khalīl-ud-Dīn, his special attendant and other relations and friends were also present by his side. He began to read out the Qurānic verses: ' There is no strength, no power but with Allah, high and great,' and he exhorted the audience to follow him. All obeyed his command.....He then caught the hands of Qāḍi Shams-ud-Dīn and Qāḍi Zāhid and remarked, " I am the same "..... He then bade the audience goodbye and read out loudly....." Do not despair of the mercy of Allah. He will forgive all our sins." Then other friends came and he

talked to them with love and affection. He then read out some prayers. Then he fainted and breathed his last, on the same day at night and was buried the following day. Makhdūm Ashraf Jahāngīr (ob. 1405 A.D) led the prayer on the occasion.[1]

Makhdūm-ul-Mulk as an author

The catalogue of the O. P. Library, Bankipur, on the authority of Khān Bahadur Ḍamīr-ud-Dīn, the author of the Sirat-i-Sharaf, which is the main source of this paper, mentions some fifteen works to be attributed to Mukhdum-ul-Mulk. They are as follows:...

(1) Maktubāt-i-Ṣadī—*i.e.*, letters of Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn written in reply to those of Qāḍi Shams-ud-Dīn, governor of Jūsa, arranged by Zan Badr-i-'Arabi, the chief disciple of the Shaykh. These letters date from A. H. 747.

(2) Maktūbāt-i-Du Ṣadī—one hundred fifty letters of the compilation have been arranged and published separately, as it were, a different book. Important learned men, who happened to be amongst the disciples of the Shaykh have been addressed in these letters, for instance, Shaykh 'Umar Qāḍi Shams-ud-Dīn, Qaḍi Zāhid, Mawlāna Ṣadr-ud-Dīn including Sultan Fīrūz Shāh.

(3) Maktūbāt-i-Bist-wa-Hasht—These are the remaining letters of the Shaykh addressed to Mawlānā Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn ; the latter had instructed before his death to bury them with him in his grave. Some of the letters remained and have come down to us in the present form.

(4) Ajwiba—These are the letters in reply to the questions raised by loving disciples of the Shaykh on Ṣūfism.

(5) Fawāi 'd-i-Ruknī—This treatise was written at the request of Ḥājji Rukn-ud-Dīn for his benefit.

(6) Irshād-ud-Ṭālibīn—A treatise written for helping a seeker after truth.

(7) Irshād-us-Sālikīn—A treatise on pantheism.

(8) Risāla-i-Makkīya—A treatise on self-introspection.

(9) Mádan-ul-Màānī—A book containing the discourses on Ṣūfism, given by Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn and collected by Zan Badr-i-'Arabī between 15th Shában 749/1348 and the end of Shawwal 751/1350.

(10) Luṭfu 'l-Ma'ānī—An abridged form uf M'adan-ul-Máānī.

[1] Sīrat-i-Sharaf. (Patna Ed.), p. 185.

(11) Mukh-ul-Ma'anī—collected by Shihāb-ud-Dīn Halifi. The date of its compilation is not known.

(12) Khwan-i-Pur N'imat—Collected by Zan Badr-i-'Arabī. It serves as an appendix to the M'adan-ul-Maānī.

(13) Tuḥfa-i-Ghaybī—Another treatise collected by the same Zayn-i-Badr.

(14) Sharh-i-Ādāb-ul-Murīdīn—A commentary on the Ādab-ul-Murīdin of Diyāud-Dīn Najīb Suhrawardy by the Shaykh. It was begun on Friday Rabi I A.H. 765 and completed on Tuesday Dhil-hijja A.H. 768.

(15) 'Aqāi'd-i-Ashrafī—It deals with the tenets of Ṣūfis.

These works are mostly devoted to Ṣūfistic topics. No. 1 which is generally available contains one hundred letters. They deal with all problems relating to Ṣūfi doctrine. They were collected by Zan Badr-i-'Arabī, a disciple of the Shaykh and were addressed to the latter's disciple and friend Qāḍī Shame-ud-Dīn, governor of Jusa at his repeated requests.

The contents have been fully described by Ethe in his India Office Catalogue, No. 1843. (column 1008).

Another important work is Mādan-ul-Ma'ānī.

A careful study of these works gives us a clear insight into the Ṣūfistic teachings of which Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Din is the best exponent.

The style of these works is on the whole not very simple. The ideas are high and ṣūfistic. The texts are interpersed with apt quotations from the Holy Qurān and the traditions and sayings of the Ṣūfis.

The following are some of the extracts given below, which will serve as instances in point.

(*a*) چندان نور باطن ظهور حق بر رونده آشکارا شود که همه ذرات وجود پیش دیدهٔ وی در اشراق آن نور متواری شوند بر مثل متواری شدن ذرهای هوا در اشراق نور آفتاب و ذره در نور آفتاب نتوان دید [1]

A traveller experiences so much inner light about Divine Presence that all atoms of Existence are hidden in his eyes, just as all atoms of

[1] Maktūbāt-i-Haḍrat Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Yahya of Munayr (Nawal Kishore; Ed. 1911), p. 6.

ether are hidden in the lustre of the sun's rays—atoms are not visible in the light of the sun.

(b) رونده را دریں راه ببعضي مقامات روحاني گذر بوده - روح از کسوت آب و گل مجرد شود - پر تو نور حق برو تجلی کند و روح درین حال در خلافت حق ید بیضا نماید - ذوق انا الحق و سبحاني در خلوت بر وقت خویش یابد و پندار یافت و وصول بمقصد دروی پدید آید - [2]

A traveller happens to reach certain spiritual stations in this path. Soul becomes isolated from the dress of water and clay. The reflection of divine light dawns upon him and soul in this condition works wonders as vice-regent of God. He begins to feel the ardour of 'I am truth.' 'Holiness be to me!' in seclusion, and with this feeling comes also the realisation of the idea that his object is being realised.

SHAYKH SHARAF-UD-DĪN AS A ṢŪFI SAINT.

Ṣūfism, broadly speaking, is nothing but the substance of the teachings of the Prophet. A ṣūfi is a true follower of Islām. Like all the ṣūfis of eminence, Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn occupied a unique position. He practised what he preached.

The principles relating to Ṣūfi doctrine found practical illustration in his life. He was devoted to truth, rectitude, piety and humanity. He looked upon himself as the servant of humanity and discharged his duties to the best of his power.

Fear of God, self-abnegation, love of fellowmen, etc., qualities such as these weighed with him most. Self-introspection was a prominent phenomenon of his life. As a result of all this rigid adherence to principles of morality, the divine light peculiar to saints at this stage of life dawned within him, and he enjoyed the beauty of the True Beloved of whom all saints and seers speak with lavish praise. Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn had attained, as hinted above, to a very old age and his long life was a fruitful field of divine culture till he reached perfection, and became a perfect man in the true sense of the term.

It would not be out of place to mention the remarks of the learned about Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn.

[1] Maktūbāt-i-Ḥaḍrat Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Yaḥya of Munayr—(Nawal Kishore Ed., 1911) p. 16.

Ḥājji Nizām Gharīb, the compiler of the Laṭāif-i-Ashrafi writes:—

صفات ذات آن عالی مناقب * برون از حد و بر تر از بیان است
زهے آن قدوهٔ اصحاب وجد ان * خهی آن عمده از عارفان است
شهی ملک ولا و والی پاک * که در ملک معارف کامران است
جهان شد تازه از باد بهارش * بهار خرم از سروران است
دماغ آلوده از باغ فردوس * چراغ دودهٔ فردوسیان است
بساطیس تازه دارد از ریاحین * ز گلزار معارف بوستان است [1]

The qualities of the being of (Sharaf-ud-Dīn) of laudable attributes are beyond limit and description.

How excellent the leader of the people of ardour !
How excellent the pillar of gnostics !
He is the king of friendship and holy ruler.
He is successful in the realm of knowledge.
The mind is at rest through the garden of Paradise.
He is the candle of the family of the Firdawsīs.
He has fresh gardens of sweet basil.
He is a fruitful tree in the garden of knowledge.

Shaykh 'Abdul Ḥaq observes:—

وی (شیخ شرف الدین) از مشائخ هندوستان ست - چه احتیاج که کسی ذکر مناقب او کند - او را تصانیف عالی ست - از جمله تصانیف او مکتوبات مشهور تر و لطیف ترین تصانیف اوست - بسیاری از آداب طریقت و اسرار حقیقت در آنجا اندراج یافته [2]

He (Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Yaḥya of Munayr) is one of the distinguished saints of India. He is beyond praise. He has highly meritorious works to his credit. They contain principles of Ṣūfi path and the secret of truth.

'Abdullah Shaṭṭar, the head of the Shaṭṭāri order observes:—

بنده معتقد کسی نیست - همه بزرگان یکے اند - اما بنده معتقد سلطان المحققین حضرت شیخ شرف الحق و الدین

[1] Sirat-i-Sharaf (Patna Ed.) p. 175. [2] Akhbār-ul-Akhyar, p. 117.

منیری و بندگی حضرت خواجه فرید عطار هستم - و جائیکه
این هر دو بزرگان رسیده اند کسی کمتر رسیده است - و انچه
که این هر دو بزرگان حقائق و دقائق راه دین بیان کرده اند -
کسی بیان نکرده است [1]

This humble self makes no distinction between holy men. They are all one and the same. But this servant believes in the king of the learned, Hadrat Shaykh Sharaf-ud-Dīn Munayri and Khwaja Farīd 'Attār. Few have attained to the rank of these two servants ; and none has explained truths and subtleties of the path of religion like them.

[1] Sirat-i-Sharaf (Patna Ed.), p. 175.

SRI AUROBINDO AND THE MEANING OF EVOLUTION *

HARIDAS CHAUDHURY, M.A.

WE have seen that it is because Life, Mind, Reason, etc., are already *involved* in the Inconscience of matter that the march of *evolution* brings them forth in successive order into articulate self fulfilment. But though the fact of involution gives a certain necessity and a definite orientation to the course of evolution, it is not sufficient to account for the ceaseless evolutionary drive. We shall, therefore, proceed now to consider in fuller detail the complete nisus of evolution, —the varied forces which are at work behind the onward march of evolution.

Modern thinkers have made serious endeavours to explain evolution, its nisus and its determinate order, without having recourse to any cosmic intelligence and conscious teleology. Alexander says that the ' drive ' of evolution is to be traced to a creative nisus, an urge with which space-time is impregnated. But whence this creative nisus in space-time which is according to Alexander empty, in its simplest expression, of all qualities, not to speak of spiritual attributes ? " Unless we assume," as Prof. Radhakrishnan puts it, " the nisus to be a spiritual power ever drawing on its resources and ever expressing new forms, Alexander's whole account becomes unsatisfactory." [1] Further, Alexander cannot explain, as we have seen, from what source and in what miraculous way such qualities as materiality, vitality, mentality and personality emerge and get fitted into certain configurations of spatio-temporal elements or events.

Bergson has no difficulty with the problem of nisus in so far as his ultimate principle is itself a creative nisus, an infinite vital surge, *élan vital.* But since this *élan vital* is only an unconscious or at most semi-conscious life-energy, Bergson cannot explain the order and rythm of the cosmic flow. The *élan vital* is absolutely free in its creation, and Bergson understands by freedom the complete negation of all determination, whether it is determination *a tergo* or determination *a fronte.* But does not that reduce the flux of existence to a

* *Concluded from the April issue.*

[1] An Idealistic View of Life, p. 323.

meaningless chaos? Moreover, it is inconceivable how an absolutely indeterminate principle which is in the nature of an entirely aimless urge can give birth to determinate orders of existence, some of which are even capable of controlling and regulating its future course. It is only by shutting one's eyes to these glaring difficulties that one can identify the ultimate with an indeterminate and inconscient force. To discard every form of teleology is to rob the cosmic drift of all its order, rythm and significance.

Since the facts of experience are too obstinate to permit a total rejection of teleology, recourse has been had to the notion of unconscious teleology. We find the doctrine of unconscious teleology expounded in one form in the Sankhya system. There are significant happenings in Nature, desirable issues emerging in implicit obedience to natural laws, yet Nature is completely devoid of all consciousness, she is jaḍa. But though Nature herself is jaḍa, there is behind all natural processes the constant presence of a detached and disinterested ever-awake onlooker, a self-luminous Puruṣa for whose sake Nature works and to whose contact evolution owes its initial start. This gives a different complexion to the Sankhya doctrine of unconscious teleology, and sharply distinguishes it from the theories of unconscious teleology which we find in Western philosophy.

Hoernlé's[1] attitude to the teleological point of view has been crystallised into the formula: "Not Mechanism or Vitalism, but Mechanism and Teleology." He admits that every new order of existence such as life or mind is without doubt the outcome of a mechanistic scheme of things and the result of unconscious forces. There is no need to posit any intelligence or principle of consciousness to preside over the mechanically controlled course of events. We may speak of teleology in the sense that after a new order of existence appears on the scene, we find it supremely valuable and desirable. It is this valuable and desirable character of the new product of evolution which justifies our language of teleology. Since the values are not only intrinsically good but also necessary facts by reason of being rigidly determined, the total scheme of the universe cannot be indifferent to them which it produces and sustains. But there seems to be an attempt here to hide the real difficulty and to cover it under a mist of

[1] Studies in Contemporary Metaphysics, Chapters VI and VII.

misleading phrases. The position of Hoernlé is, to put it plainly, that there is only mechanism, life, mind, etc., resulting from the conjunction of mechanical forces, though these mechanically produced things may also be immensely valuable in our estimation. And it is precisely here that the sting of the problem lies. How can an ascending series of supreme values such as life, mind and personality be brought into being by a set of blind forces which are blind without qualification ? To speak of an unconscious teleology is simply to state the fact without any attempt at explanation.

Dr. Bosanquet also speaks of an unconscious teleology as also of a superconscious teleology, in addition to the teleology of human activity.[1] Bosanquet holds that explicitly conscious teleology which we notice at the human level is, far from being the only type and vehicle of teleology, only an intermediate form of expression of a deeper teleology which is operative in the cosmic process. The beautiful flower which we admire is neither a chance product thrown off by the wanton play of disconnected forces, nor a miracle super-induced on the course of things by an arbitrary will of God. It is rather the immanent development of its whole surroundings in which its plan was deeply embedded. It will be preposterous to place any intelligence in Nature to whom the plan of determinate objects must be explicitly present prior to their actual realisation. Similarly, there is superconscious teleology which is exemplified in such supral-individual structures as a civilisation or a state. Take any civilisation of the present day you like, and it will be immediately evident that it was never explicitly present in all its present proportions and significance to the consciousness of any individual or group of individuals. But still there can be no disputing the fact that it is not an accidental formation, but the concrete realisation of a deeper purpose in the nature of things ; it is the carrying into effect of a profounder plan which has worked through the co-ordination of the conscious activities of generations of men. The apparent motives of our human actions provide the instrumentation through which the deeper plan of Nature operates. Even in the case of finite conscious teleology it is such a deeper plan which is of capital importance. The end which is consciously held before our mind undergoes continuous modification and re-shaping under the pressure of the secret nature of things as

[1] The Principle of Individuality and Value, Lecture IV.

we press forward with our work of self-realisation. The *de facto* end is, as Dr. Bosanquet is never tired of reiterating, never the thing of primary or decisive importance. It is always determined by the nature of a system part of which has already been actualised, and the residual part of which awaits realisation for the completion or fulfilment of the nature of the actual. So Bosanquet concludes that "teleology is only a sub-form of Harmony." There are teleological movements in Nature because there is immanent in every finite part a spirit of harmony or a principle of totality which impels it to a self-transcending, and a consequent fuller self-realising. The deeper plan in the nature of things is the result of an all-pervasive immanence of the absolute in the universe. Now, this deeper plan cannot, we submit, be in any way inferior to our finite consciousness. It is, in truth, infinitely superior to human intelligence and must operate with absolute wisdom and a perfectly luminous vision. The bearer of this superconscious teleology is, to quote the language of Sri Aurabindo, "the will of the Universal Mother" who is the nature and power of Saccidānanda, the Absolute Spirit.

It is then the Will of the Divine Śakti, the Will to manifest the glories of spiritual being under the conditions provided by the material world, which supplies the real nisus of the unceasing march of evolution. But the Will of the Cosmic Mother or Divine Māyā operates not wantonly and arbitrarily but through a fixed machinery of laws and forces. In guiding the course of evolution, the Divine Will functions through the instrumentation of two closely co-operating forces.[1] First, there is an *upward-tending force from below* bringing forth into articulate expression an ascending series of reals, and this upward drive results from the involution of the higher in the lower, the involution of the Spirit with all the principles of His being in the Nescience of Matter, which we have already considered. Secondly, there is an *upward-drawing force from above* which results from the constant pressure exerted by the higher orders of existence upon the lower. This pressure and the consequent upward-drawing attraction not only help and accelerate the upward-tending force from below but also very largely determine the special ways in which it is eventually realised.

[1] Life Divine, Chapter 46.

We have already seen that according to Sri Aurobindo the world in which we live is only one among a multitude of orders of Divine self-manifestation. While in our world matter is the dominant principle and the starting point of the evolutionary process with other principles involved in it and gradually evolving from it, there are other orders of Divine self-realisation in one of which Life is the dominant principle, in another, Mind is the dominant principle, in another still, the Supermind or Spirit is the dominant principle. This separate dominance of each principle of being in different orders of God's self-fulfilment is not only a philosophical possibility, but a verifiable reality to which " all our spiritual and psychic experience bears affirmative witness." The pressure from above of the superior principles of the higher planes of existence is an imperative necessity for bringing forth into articulate expression and independent functioning the principles of Life, Mind, Personality, Spirit which are involved in Matter. This " upward-drawing force from above " acting in co-operation with " the upward-tending force from below " and jointly determining the specific course of evolution is especially in evidence in the progressive unfoldment and self-expansion of our own mind. The higher a man ascends on the path of spiritual progress, the stronger and the more insistent the uplifting forces from above that he feels, and the increasingly overwhelming the impact or pressure of the superior planes of existence on the mental, vital and physcial levels that one experiences within oneself.

We have so long dealt with the forces which are at work behind the evolution of Life out of Matter, of the sense-mind of the animal out of life, and of the personality or intellectualised mind of man out of the sense-mind of the animal. The question that next arises is: Are we to suppose that the evolutionary process has reached its highest summit with the birth of human personality, and that Man is in truth the crowning consummation of evolution? Is it a fact that the only direction in which further progress lies would be in carrying to the utmost limit of development the powers and capacities of the mind and in an increasing realisation of man's moral and social ideals ? Such a supposition would involve a complete misreading of the fundamental trend of evolution. There are numerous indications, or vaticinations we may say, in our own mental nature which point beyond our limited mentality and emphasise the necessity of mind's self-completion beyond itself. It is notorious that mind can never

reconcile its own paradoxes or self-discrepancies, as Bradley has demonstrated with the utmost thoroughness. Moreover, to say that man is the crown of evolution would be a ridiculous attempt to measure the possibilities of the infinite principle of creativity by the actualities of our limited and imperfect humanity. European prophets of evolution have envisaged, however faintly and indefinitely, levels of creation for transcending the mental. Bergson's *élan vital* is an endless and inexhaustible principle of creativity ever bringing to birth absolute novelties and unforeseen and unforeseeable qualities. Alexander has seen the vision of a Deity which will be essentially different from mind and which will be far superior and richer in character. He is loath to ascribe to this Deity any of the attributes of the mind, in howsoever magnified a form. We cannot indeed form in our mind any definite picture of the Deity, just as it was impossible for the animal to have had even the faintest idea of what human personality would be like, or as it was impossible for the plant to have had any glimpse of the conscious life of the animal. Such superlative attributes as omniscience, omnipotence, etc., which people generally ascribe to God are but figurative expressions of an infinitely superior type of unimaginable quality which Deity is.

To Sri Aurobindo also has come the vision of the Superman—a more definite and articulate vision ; and he has further devoted his whole life, a life of brilliant promise and of tremendous possibility, to a conversion of this flaming vision into an actual reality. There have been glimpses in almost all religions of a supra-human consummation of the evolutionary process. In Christianity, there has been the dream of a Kingdom of Heaven, or of a Reign of the Saints. In Hinduism, we have the conception of Satyayuga or Kingdom of Truth. There are, of course, men who believe that Heaven is Heaven and Earth is Earth, and that the twain shall never meet. They start by positing an essential discontinuity between Heaven and Earth, so that though the possibility of the emancipation of the human soul from its bondage and imperfections on earth into a heavenly region of infinite knowledge and bliss is admitted, the descending of Heaven on earth, or, what is the same thing, a transformation of earth into Heaven is strenuously combated. Sri Aurobindo, however, believes that it is the very purpose of evolution to effect in course of time such a radical transformation. Just as life which was latent in matter has been gradually released and evolved, and just as Mind

which was involved in life has been in due time released and evolved, so also there is involved in Mind a supra-mental power which is the instrument of the unbounded spirit or Saccidananda. It is the very purpose of evolution to bring into full manifestation in the realm of Matter the glorious riches of the Spirit.

According to Bergson and Alexander, there is no definite purpose or goal of evolution which is conceived as an endless process of evolving ever fresh novelties from a 'source-one-knows-not-what.' According to Sri Aurobindo, there is a deep-lain purpose in the process of evolution, and that purpose is to bring out into manifestation the Spirit which is all along secretly involved in Mind, in Life and also in the complete inconscience of Matter and which has been constantly guiding the course of evolution from behind the veil. While Alexander's Deity is an absolutely novel and unique quality, a quality which is but a future possibility towards whose actualisation the world of space-time is constantly straining forward, the Spirit, for Sri Aurobindo, is already real, is indeed the one sovereign reality which sustains and gives meaning to the whole process of evolution. It is only the manifestation of the Spirit in the universe which will be a unique achievement, the crowning consummation of the evolutionary process.

It will be instructive to note in this connection the difference between the race of angels supposed by Alexander to emerge out of the actualisation of Deity, and the ideal of supermen as envisaged by Aurobindo. On the actualisation of Deity, man will remain man, and an entirely new race of creatures, namely angels, will be ushered into existence on the basis of developed manhood, just as beasts have remained beasts even after the emergence of humanity, and so on still further back. But an analysis of the nature of man who is constantly upward-looking in his tendency and aspiration and who is Nature's great conscious term of transition leads Aurobindo to visualise the possibility of the collective transformation of humanity and the establishment of the long hoped-for Kingdom of Heaven on earth. This is in consonance with the characteristic Indian view that immortality is the birthright and necessary goal of every human soul, the view which W. James describes as "the democratic conception of immortality." Only, immortality means for Aurobindo not an escape from the world into a timeless experience of transcendent bliss, but an unspotted life of desireless activity ungrudgingly offered as an instrument of the Cosmic

Mother, with the soul firmly seated in Brahman-consciousness. A superman is to be a playmate of God and a fully conscious medium of the Divine Mother. The attainment of supermanhood is possible only through a complete transcending of the poise of our mental being, the integral self-surrender of man and the Grace of the Divine Mother being the chief factors of that transcendence. A superman is one in whom the supra-mental has descended not only into the soul and the heart and the intellect but even down into the very cells of the body so that every part of his being may vibrate with supreme joy and divine consciousness.

" Supermanhood is a certain divine and harmonious absolute of all that is essential in man."[1] Absolute power should be joined in the superman to absolute love or bliss and also absolute knowledge. " To follow any one of these exclusively is to invite, after the first energy is over, God's departure from us and denial."[2] An exclusive attachment to Love will leave us impotent and empty of effective knowledge. Nietzsche was partially justified in revolting against the Christ-idea of God as mere Love. Love is divine but an exclusive worship of Love will not give us the essence of God. Nietzsche, however, falls into the opposite error of exaggerating power over everything else. His superman is an Asura or a Titan, who is " the son of division and the strong flowering of the Ego." A true superman is one who has sacrified his ego as a holocaust to the Divine Mother and has thereby come into real possession of absolute power instead of being possessed by it. " The Titan would unify by devouring, not by harmonising ; he must conquer and trample what is not himself either out of existence or into subservience so that his own image may stand out stamped upon all things and dominating all his environment."[3] A true superman, on the contrary, is one who realises himself as one with God and through God with all the multitude of beings, so that from that realisation may flow bliss that is unalloyed and power that is unbounded.

1 Sri Aurobindo's The Superman, p. 8.
2 *Ibid*, p. 9.
3 *Ibid*, p. 7.

MODERN HOLLAND

DR. H. GOETZ

THE little country of the cheese? To most people the name of Holland evokes the idea of an idyllic peaceful country where gay and happy women in wooden clogs, wide black skirts and white lace-caps milk the cattle and where calm men in clogs, large pantaloons and a small pipe in their mouth produce cheese, in a low landscape of green meadows, canals with fisher-boats, tiny houses and wind-mills. This is Holland, no doubt! You may see such like scenes in many parts of this country, the best in such famous villages as Volendam and Marken or on Walcheren island which have always attracted the foreigners anxious to see picturesque dresses and customs.

The Real Holland.—And nevertheless, nothing would be a more distorted and wrong picture of Holland and of Dutch life than this idyl. For was not Holland only three centuries ago the leading maritime power and does it not possess a rich colonial empire even at the present day? Was it not the home of a number of the greatest artists of the world, and is it not even now a focus of cultural exchange? The real Holland is no more one of the grand powers in political life, but it is still a great commercial and cultural centre. The little country of the cheese is only the hinterland of a very modern civilization, the recreation ground and tourists' haunt of the bustling life of the big harbours of Amsterdam and Rotterdam which draw their forces and wealth from the maritime trade passing through the Channel.

The Dutch Character.—No doubt, the Dutch are a calm and gay nation. This is, however, not the result of an easy-going frivolity but of the self-confidence of a healthy, industrious and cautious people. The Dutch character is rather heavy and slow, cautious and critical, but at the same time industrious, persevering and eager of knowledge. And behind its peaceableness and sentimentality of home and family, there is the dream of adventures in far-off countries, and a stubborn love of independence. This cautious and peaceful disposition has created the idyllic atmosphere of the little country of the cheese. This industry and perseverance has transformed Holland into an economic and social model country, this critical desire for knowledge into a focus of cultural contacts, and this spirit of adventure into a maritime power.

A Model Country.—Holland is even much smaller than it looks on the map. For the tracts along the German and Belgian frontiers are thinly populated fens. The majority of her population of 7 millions, her economic activity and her cultural life centre along the shores and in the delta of the Rhine and the Maas. This is Holland proper, with its two extensions along the coast of the North Sea, Friesland and Zealand. In the early Middle Ages this tract was an unhealthy swamp behind a range of barren sand dunes. Dutch industry and perseverance have transformed this unpromising landscape into one of the most fertile countries of the world. It has strengthened the dunes and filled up the gaps between them by heavy masonry dams of a length of many miles, it has fortified the shores of the innumerable rivers and canals by strong earthen dikes, it has, only a decade ago, closed the big bay of the Zuyder Zee by an enormous dike. And behind these bulwarks a network of smaller dikes encloses innumerable "polders" which are kept dry by the pumps of the famous Dutch windmills. But some of these "polders" are so much below the sea-level that from their bottom you will see the sails of canal-boats above your head, and when you have reached the level of the dikes, you will soon reach another dike where you can see the river-steamers above your head, and finally you will make the same experience a third time until you reach the river borders. These low-lying tracts are drained by big steam pumps, and a system of flood-gates and sluices has to keep the waters of the sea and of the rivers outside. But these wet meadows of the "polders," growing on fertile river-sediments, are an insuperable grazing-ground for innumerable herds of excellent milk cattle which produce the famous Dutch milk butter and cheese. On the light sand of the dunes many fine vegetables, grapes, etc., are grown, often in hot-houses extending like villages, and the Dutch flowers, tulips, hyacinths, etc., are famous everywhere. On the other hand, there are not sufficient cereals, and corn and wheat must be imported from Canada, Argentina, Australia, etc. A net of beautiful garden cities covers this fertile country, small houses because of the marshy ground, but in the midst of charming gardens, and with all the comfort of our time. They have enclosed the old towns with their picturesque canals which are no more sufficient for our standards of sanitation.

A Cultural Centre

As the Dutch are peaceful, industrious and thrifty, the economic life experiences crises only as far as the wealth of the country depends on international trade. But even the last world crisis has not been able to upset its sound economics and social peace. The Dutch spirit of independence and co-operation has not only averted a toc wide gulf between rich and poor, it has made possible a strong democracy on a denominational basis, crowned by a constitutional monarchy hereditary in the family of the founder of Dutch independence, William the Silent of Orange. This atmosphere of liberty, peace and wealth has always been very favourable to the cultivation of cultural interests. It may perhaps not rise the ultimate questions of humanity, but it neither arouses the passions obscuring a clear and unbiased outlook on life. Besides many mercantile connections and travels bring the Dutch into a close contact with the cultural activities of their neighbours. The average middle-class Dutchman is, therefore, at home not only with the philosophic, artistic and literary production of his own country, but also with those of Belgium, France, England and Germany. Many associations cultivate the study of foreign countries, the theatres of France and Germany pay regular visits to The Hague and Amsterdam, there is an Italian opera, and foreign artists and writers are well-received guests. Holland is one of the leading countries in the modern style of architecture, and painting is a hobby of most Dutchmen. Berlage, Dudok and Oud have made modern Dutch architecture famous, Sluyters and van Dongen are its best living painters, in the field of music Diepenbroeck and Mengelberg are dominating; Dutch literature is, however, much less known as it deals almost only with local problems; but Multatuli, Couperus, Fabritius ann Mrs. Roland-Holst van der Schalk have become known also outside the Dutch frontiers. On the whole the Dutch excel more in scientific research; Leyden University is best in Oriental, medical and physical studies and has laid part of the basis of Einstein's relativity theory, Utrecht specializes in political science and economics, Groningen in classical studies and theology, Delft in engineering, Rotterdam in commercial science, Wageningen in agriculture.

A Mercantile Power

Inspite of the excellent development of Dutch agriculture, the chief source of national wealth is the sea. Holland was always famous

for her herring-fisheries which are now somewhat eclipsed by the Japanese competition. Shipbuilding and water engineering, too, are prosperous industries. The Dutch navigation is still very important, especially that to Central and South America, Africa and South Eastern Asia. The colonies produce spices, sugar, coffee, tea, tin, bauxite, etc. But the extensive sugar production of Java has undergone a dangerous crisis because of the Indian import duties and of Far Eastern events, which led to a marked emigration to the surrounding isles. The trade between Holland and her colonies was long the monopoly of the Nederlandsche Handels Maatschappij and a great part of it is still controlled by this Trust. On the other hand the "Royal Dutch," in close collaboration with the "British Shell," represents one of the most powerful oil concerns of the world, under the direction of Sir Henry Deterding. In the last years Netherlands India has been linked to the mother country by the K. L. M. (Royal Air Transport Company) which competes with the Imperial Airways and the Air France on its way across British India.

Can Holland Remain Independent ?

How can such a small nation defend such a rich country in Europe and overseas which must arouse the covetousness of neighbours like Germany and Japan ? In the past the Dutch have fiercely fought for their independence against the Spaniards and the French, assisted by the swamps of their country. But against modern war machinery these natural defences are of little value, and the Dutch army and navy would not be a match against the gigantic armaments of our days. Since the times of Queen Elizabeth, however, the British have become interested in the independence of the Netherlands as a bulwark of the English coasts, and at the present day they would resent an attack on Holland as much as the invasion of Belgium in 1914; and the integrity of the Dutch Indies is an essential point in their control of the Indian Ocean. No military alliance mars the independence and neutrality of Holland; nevertheless these are more or less guaranteed by their community of interests with the British Commonwealth. Holland's greatness is founded on its international position of a commercial and cultural mediator; without this latter it would soon revert to the idyllic little country of the cheese.

INVESTMENT PROBLEMS OF INDIAN INSURANCE COMPANIES AND THE NEW INSURANCE LAW

PRABODHRANJAN GUPTA, M.A., F.C.I.I.

THE problem of investment of Insurance funds is one of the most complicated of problems that confront the administration of Insurance Companies, for not only is it necessary that these funds should be invested in absolute security to safeguard the interests of the policyholders but it is almost as imperative that these investments should yield a return sufficiently high to make the smooth working of Insurance Companies possible. As a matter of fact the question of yield is increasingly becoming a very difficult one in view of the rapidly falling rate of interest in all stabilised countries of the world.

In the early days of Insurance business these problems were comparatively simple. All that the Company executives needed to do was to find out certain items of safe investment which in those days always yielded sufficient returns to make life assurance business profitable. In 1862 Bailey laid down five important canons of investment which in themselves comprised the whole problem of investment. His canons were:—

(1) That the first consideration should be the absolute security of capital.

(2) That the highest practical rate of interest be obtained compatible with security.

(3) That a small portion of the total funds should be readily convertible to meet current needs.

(4) That the remaining and larger portion of the funds should be invested in long term securities not readily convertible.

(5) That as far as practicable the capital should be employed to aid life assurance business.

For many years British Insurance Companies followed Bailey's principles of investment with unflinching loyalty and the results had been on the whole quite satisfactory. With changing times, however, which in their trail brought mighty upheavals both political and

economic, the problems of Insurance Companies took a much more complicated form. Bailey's principles orthodoxly followed no longer suited current conditions and radical Actuaries set themselves thinking in order to devise new methods suitable to new conditions. The Great War had brought about conditions that in the past had never been foreseen. Securities which in the past had been regarded as absolutely secure were subjected to such enormous fluctuations that it was impossible to regard them as absolutely stable as they had been regarded in the past. Thus British Consols which in 1896 were quoted as high as 113·7/8 fell to 76·3/8 in 1911 and 44·5/8 in 1921. Further in view of the rapidly falling interest it was realised that unless particular attention was given to the question of yield of Insurance funds it would be very difficult for Insurance Companies to maintain their existing attractive offers to the public. Concerted action had, therefore, become imperative and various organisations were set up to bring into operation " an active policy " of investment in contra-distinction with orthodox methods.

Conditions in India show a complete absence of any policy or principle of investment of insurance funds. Further to add to the difficulty the new Insurance Act has provided for the regulation of investment by laying down that 55% of the policy liabilities should be invested in approved securities. An examination of the methods that have become necessary to meet the difficulties of investment in other countries clearly shows that mere statutory limitation of investments in particular classes of investments cannot solve the very complicated problems of insurance investment. The enormous fluctuations to which government securities have been subjected in recent years both in this and in other countries have shown beyond doubt that investment in government securities do not conduce to the stability of Insurance Companies to nearly the extent to which it had been supposed to do in the past. Further what at one time are regarded as very safe and profitable forms of investments may not at other times appear equally so. The wisdom of leaving investment to the discretion of the Insurance executives, therefore, has always been admitted by insurance experts.

The history of Insurance legislation in other countries shows that restriction of investment to the extent it has been done in India is something unique. British Companies have thrived admirably under the principle of ' freedom and publicity.' The Clauson Committee in

recommending revisions of the existing British Law were of opinion that no statutory restrictions in the investment of funds were necessary except that without the sanction of the court no investment should be made in the shares of any other Insurance Companies. The Canadian Law which stands out as an example of state control of Insurance also provides for no restriction in investment except that not more than 15% of the assets should be invested in common stocks. In America too restriction only applies to investment in common stocks.

In order that the investment position of Insurance Companies in India may be examined a Chart showing the percentages of investment in different items is given below :—

PERCENTAGES.

	1921	1927	1929	1931	1933	1934	1935	1936
Mortgages ...	1·67	4·92	3·68	3·49	3·59	3·13	4·01	3·88
Loans on Policies ...	7·43	7·92	7·16	8·75	9·08	8·83	8·84	8·76
Loans on Personal securities ...	1·67	0·73	...	...	...	...	...	...
Loans on Stocks and Shares ...	...	...	1·75	0·99	0 14	0·41	0·60	0·28
Indian Government securities ...	58·74	51·65	52·04	50·24	49·83	49·94	50·54	51·46
Municipal and Port Trust Debentures ...	14·14	17·84	14·46	13·42	13·45	12·21	10·25	9·82
Securities of Indian States ...	...	...	...	...	0·39	0·46	0·49	0·65
Land and Buildings ...	5·75	5·73	5 00	4·93	5·13	5·22	5·26	5·89
Shares of Indian Companies ...	1·55	3·74	3·29	4·06	4·62	3·29	6·12	6·77
Deposits, Cash and Stamps ...	2·25	2·18	3·80	2·71	3·72	4·15	4·56	4·36
Capital Expenditures ...	1·08	0·73	0·45	0·45	0·54	0·60	0·47	7·27
Miscellaneous items ..	5·72	4·56	5·89	6·96	3·07	8·36	7·55	
British, Colonial and Foreign Government securities ...	...	...	2·48	2·00	1·44	1·40	1·31	0·86

On an examination of the Chart it will be noted, however, that in the periods under review about 70% of the assets of Indian Insurance Companies had been invested in approved securities including policy loans (of which 52% is in government securities) and it might be asked as to what difficulties there can be in complying with the condition of

investing 55% in approved securities. The answer to this is as follows:—

The trends of the future will not necessarily be the same as those of the present. With rapidly growing industrial conditions in the country it might be found more expedient and profitable to divert some of the investments to industrial, debentures and stocks. Further if in the future 55% of all the rapidly increasing funds of Insurance Companies are to be invested in gilt-edge, the supply of such securities being limited, the invariable tendency will be to artificially raise the value of such securities thereby diminishing the return of the assets of Insurance Companies. Another point is worthy of note ; the figures quoted above are not a proper index of the percentages of investment of Indian Companies in general, because these figures have been given an undue weightage by the huge funds of the "Oriental" which are overwhelmingly invested in gilt-edge. If the funds of this Company are left out the percentages for the year 1936, for instance, would work out to be 32·6% in government securities and 55% in approved securities.

Perhaps a better idea of the position can be obtained by examining the chief classes of investment of some of the important Insurance Companies in India.

PERCENTAGES

	Oriental.	Empire.	National.	Hindusthan Co-operative.		United India.	Bombay Mutual.	Calcutta.	National Indian.
Mortgages ...	Nil	Nil	8·6	30	26*	16	15	16	14
Policy Loans ...	10	14	13	9	9	14	6	8	13
Industrial Shares and Debentures ...	·27	Nil	33	6	10	2	16	·9	16
Government Securities ...	75	60	15	11	10	27	16	56	22
Municipal and Port Trust Debentures ...	6	20	14	2	8	1·3	25	Nil	26
House and Land property	2·5	1·9	9	24	21	7	14	·5	Nil

N.B.—The figures relate to the year 1936 and are approximate.

* These figures relate to the year 1937. They are given to show the change in the investment policy of the "Hindusthan Co-operative" that has taken place in recent years.

The general effect, therefore, of the insistence of the provisions of the Act will be to lower the earning power of Insurance Companies considerably. The Government Blue Book for the year 1937 gives the following percentages of rates of interest earned by Indian Insurance Companies for the quinquennium 1932-1936:—

Year	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Rate of interest	5·38	5·17	5·08	4·93	4·69

After the new Act becomes operative on the 1st July, 1939 the future earnings of the representative Insurance Company may be classified as follows:—

Investments.	Average Earning,
45% of funds invested in gilt-edge	@ 3% (after deduction of Income Tax).
10% in policy loans	... 6%
12½% in industrial shares including preference shares and debentures	... 5%
12½% in mortgages ...	... 6%
5% in house and land properties	... 4%
10% in agents' balances, capital expenditures and dead stock, etc.	... 0%
5% in cash, in banks and miscellaneous	... 1%
TOTAL	3·575%

This is not a conservative estimate of the future earning power of Insurance Companies. It might be that certain Companies now favourably placed will temporarily be able to earn somewhat higher interest but in the long run after all factors have worked themselves out the level of earnings is bound to approximate the above figures assuming that the rates of interest yielded by particular classes of investment remain what they are now. In this connection it will not be out of place to remark that if the Moneylenders' Bill now before the Bengal

Legislature, is passed without amendment mortgage as a form of investment of Insurance Companies will cease to exist in Bengal.

At the present time Indian Insurance Companies have been carrying on their valuations at about 4% to 4½% interest. The conditions that will be brought about after the provisions of the new Act come into force will necessitate these Companies carrying on their valuations from the near future at 3% to 3¼%. Under existing conditions this would mean a serious hardship and Companies will be faced with the problem of raising their premium rates or reducing their bonuses or both. It is hoped that in the future certain margins will arise from better mortality experience (which better sanitary conditions and more modern conditions of living will bring about) and lower expense ratios. But the savings on these items will not compensate the losses due to interest specially in the endowment plans of policies where investment plays a more important part. It is worthy of note that the Indian Life Offices' Association has already taken an initiative in the direction of devising ways and means for reducing the expenses of Companies. If their suggestions are accepted by Member Companies certain items of unnecessary expenditure can be immediately curtailed.

It will be interesting in this connection to make a reference to a paper read before the Insurance Institute of London in 1935 by Mr. R. C. Simmonds, F.I.A., in which he discussed how rates of premium will be affected if rate of interest falls to 0%. While he had shown that life insurance under such conditions will not become impossible, much of its attractiveness from the investment point of view will be lost. This, of course, applies to Great Britain where mortality and expenses of management are much lower. It is doubtful if life assurance will at all be possible in India if rate of interest falls to 0% under present conditions. This, however, is by way of a diversion.

While criticising the provisions of the Insurance Act in India regarding investment it has to be conceded that under the circumstances obtaining in the country at the time of the passing of the Bill such a provision appeared to be almost a necessity because of the indiscriminate and somewhat unscrupulous policy of investment pursued by some of the Insurance executives. Further, the wide-spread illiteracy among the masses which make it impossible for them to discrimate between good and indifferent Companies compelled the legislators to impose such measures as were necessary to protect the unwary insuring

public. But while it is possible to appreciate the spirit in which the legislation was imposed the effect of the legislation on the Companies that are carrying on business on sound principles will, as has already been stated, be unsatisfactory. As a matter of fact one is almost inclined to think that after the new Act has succeeded in making sense prevail in the more wayward of the Insurance Companies and after its adverse effect on the better Companies will have begun to be felt, the Government will be moved to amend the present legislation in as far as it relates to insurance investment.

To emphasise how important it is to leave investments to the discretion of the insurance executives themselves, provided these executives can be depended upon, will be even more apparent if we review the trend of investment of British Companies for the last half a century or more. Taking four important classes of investments, *viz.*, (1) Mortgages, (2) Loans on Policies, (3) British, Indian and Colonial Government Securities and (4) Debentures, Stocks and Shares, it is remarkable to observe how particular classes have found great favour in particular periods, and became less popular in other periods. The Chart is given below :—

PERCENTAGES

Year	1871	1885	1892	1912	1921	1926	1932
Mortgages	47·04	46·18	39·3	21·8	9·6	7·9	10·97
Loans on Policies ...	4·81	4·68	4·4	5·3	2·6	3·8	4·51
British, Indian and Colonial Govt. Securities.	12·28	7·42	9·1	5·7	40·4	37·5	30·70
Debentures, Stocks and Shares	12·34	12·08	17·5	33·0	17·8	24·7	29·48

It will be noticed that mortgages which during the last century accounted for nearly half the invastments of Insurance Companies have in recent years fallen to a bare 10%. This fall in popularity of mortgages is not due to the fact that there was something inherently wrong n mortgages as a form of investment but because with the growth and stabilisation of industries in the country industrial investment began to find more favour. Again much of the business of mortgage is now done through the issue of debenture. Further the comparatively low yield of mortgages together with the option of repayment at a time when interest rates are falling contributed to the unpopularity of mortgages as a form of investment.

Government Securities show a marked increase but much of this increase resulted from War time purchases which have been induced not only by the high rate of interest offered on War Bonds and Stocks but also through a sense of patriotism as Insurance Companies felt that it was their duty to make as much of their funds available to Government as possible during the trying years of the War.

Industrial investments also increased remarkably for reasons already stated above.

In conclusion it is hoped that after all the bitterness of controversy has subsided things will be adjusted to the normal and better conditions on the whole will prevail. In the light of future experience it will become necessary to make alterations and modifications both in legislation and practice to suit changing conditions. In the meantime there is no reason to be very pessimistic as with a little accommodation and adjustment fairly workable results can be obtained.

II

SOME ASPECTS OF RECENT ENGLISH FICTION *

SRICHANDRA SEN, M.A.

PROBLEM novels and novels, which are written to push forward some favourite project, are still quite common. Slums, the condition of labour at mining centres, the distress which talent of a high order has to face when it leaves the beaten track, the ethical problem of subordinating sentiment to social necessity, war, the horrors of industrialism—all these and more have appeared as minor subjects or major ones in contemporary fiction. However presented, they suggest a problem and initiate a propaganda for improving and humanising the conditions of social life by concentrating attention on certain facts relating to our collective existence. To mention a few concrete instances, Wells has repeatedly made his characters lament the lack of co-ordination in the efforts of men and women which, as they assert, do not prosper for being scattered and disconnected. His dream of a world-state is built upon the future regimentation of work and the elimination of competition. He thus carries on a socio-political propaganda through his novels, the nature of which may be shown by this short excerpt:—

"There will be a Supreme Court determining *not* International Law, but World Law. There will be a growing code of World Law.

There will be a World Currency.

There will be a ministry of posts, transports, and communication generally.

There will be a ministry of trade in staple products and for the concentration and development of the natural resources of the earth.

There will be a ministry of social and labour conditions.

There will be a ministry of world health.

There will be a ministry, the most important ministry of all, watching and supplementing national educational work and taking up the care and stimulation of backward communities.[1] Etc. etc.

* Continued from our last issue.

[1] The Salvaging of Civilization by H. G. Wells.
Wells has stated his ideas regarding education somewhat elaborately in his novel "Joan and Peter."

This list does not exhaust the reforms which Wells desires to carry through. Hundreds of them have occurred to him by which he desires to free human society from its ' muddle ' and stabilise it. In any case it is not a new dream. Omar Khayyam had dreamt it when he wished so memorably " to grasp this sorry Scheme of things entire " so that he might " Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire."[1]

Lawrence lays many of his English scenes in his fiction in the mining districts of England and, although his attitude is far from that of a propagandist, he sometimes makes a character speak sadly of the mischief being done by industrialism to nature and the human soul.[2] He has, however, consistently espoused the doctrine which, heretical as it may appear to others, seems to have his genuine support. It may be stated in the words of Lady Chatterly: ' Give me the body. I believe the life of the body is a greater reality than the life of the mind: when the body is really awakened to life... The human body is just coming to real life. With the Greeks it gave a lovely flicker, then Plato and Aristotle killed it and Jesus finished it off. But now the body is coming really to life."[3] This opinion which Lawrence has allowed to occupy a prominent place in the novel is intended by him to explode the theory of the mind's inherent superiority to the body. He will not have " minds tacked on to their physical corpses." Commendable or otherwise, it is a new attitude, and kept within certain limits it can effect quite a healthy change in a world in which the body is often held to be no more than " an encumbrance."[4] Unfortunately, however, the body in the other extremity has been too much exulted in defiance of truth and moderation, and the new attitude, instead of impressing us with its fidelity to experience, sometimes fills us with repugnance by its shameless excess. The body element thus objectionably preponderates in a number of scenes in Lawrence's " Women in Love."[5] Sensuality is thus defended by Birkin: "...It is a fulfilment—the great dark knowledge you can't have in your head—the dark involuntary being. It is death to one's self—but it is the coming into being of another."[6]

1 Omar's Lament, translated by Fitzgerald, Golden Treasury Series (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1928), p. 454.
2 Lady Chatterley's Lover (Secker), p. 200.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 250.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 250.
5 Women in Love (Secker), p. 44.
6 Undertones of War by E. Blunden.

The anti-war propaganda started its career in right earnest soon after the War. A well-mannered protest was made as early as 1922 by C. E. Montague in his "Disenchantment." The book achieved much popularity by the qualities of its style and sympathy. The note first heard in this book grew in harshness and irony in later works by the same author as "Fiery Particles," and "Rough Justice," where his tone becomes almost violently anti-war. "All Quiet on the Western Front" by Erich von Remarque carried the same propaganda almost to every civilised country, reinforced by sound pictures, pointing out the futility of modern warfare in which immense carnage goes on mechanically, and personal valour and idealism are denied all scope. How a generation of youth, which included men of first-rate powers, was swept away by the fury of the War which raged for about five years has been told by many writers.[1] Richard Aldington's "Death of a Hero" should also be mentioned in this connexion. Those who survived the War often lived as moral wrecks. That lesson was brought home by Aldington. But he was not alone in this realisation. The ex-soldier on his return from War "found himself living in a rather worse world than he lived in June 1914." This gave rise to the sense that the suffering and sacrifice of millions of young men were made in vain, and that the facts of the situation on the eve of the War were deliberately misinterpreted, giving them the complexion of a high patriotic idealism when indeed they could not bear any searching criticism. Other popular works of fiction in which some kind of anti-war propaganda is envisaged are Hutchinson's "If Winter Comes," Ernest Hemingway's "A Farewell to Arms," Wells's "Mr. Bristling Sees It Through," etc. They view the disaster of 1914-18 from different angles, but as they seek to speak about it sanely, they in effect constitute a kind of propaganda against war. It is not necessary to refer to other novels of this class. Our aim being to indicate same prominent tendencies in contemporary English fiction, it will not serve any useful purpose by lengthening the present list.

Almost every problem can now be discussed in the novel. One reason for this is the great diffusion of knowledge which marks

[1] *Vide* Undertones of War by E. Blunden. The anti-war propaganda may be clarified into vulgar-popular and intelligent-popular with reference to its literary results. Hutchinson and Philip Gibbs (The Middle of the Road) are examples of the latter, while Aldington, Wells, Montague, being penetrative critics of the war, are examples of the former.

this age as well as the facilities for acquiring information on any subject, brought about the popularisation of every branch of learning, for which credit is due to enterprising publishers. The restraint which was observed before the War has now disappeared. In pre-War days the sense of propriety did not lead to a curtailment of themes, but a less openness of manner was in fashion. Commenting on this new freedom, Frank Swinnerton observes that it is " but a further stage in self-consciousness."[1] The post-War novels clearly reflect the religious, moral and political upheaval which characterizes the new generation. Any incident may now be related. This is a gain on the side of frankness and sincerity, but one which may easily be abused as will be noticed on a reference to some of the novels of Michael Arlen and Alec Waugh whose performances are, however, of no great literary value. The sex element plays a larger part in literature than it has ever done before. The responsibility cannot be laid on the shoulders of the novelists nor on those of psycho-analysts. The popularity of fiction which satisfies this taste indicates that nothing has been thrust upon the public. John Carrunthers has shrewdly observed : " The readers themselves demand that a great deal of sexual experimentation shall be carried on for them vicariously in the pages of the books."[2] The post-Restoration England saw something very like this, although on a much smaller scale and having very little of the significance of the present movement.

In this brief survey of recent English fiction more attention is being given to the work that followed the War than what preceded it. A word of explanation seems called for for such deliberate partiality. Fiction before 1914 was more or less in the older tradition, and appears now to be the product of an age with which the new generation is not much in sympathy. The post-War fiction shows a number of new developments which, apart from the question of their intrinsic merit, are interesting to watch, and, vacillating as they seem, the future of English fiction depends on them. The characteristic of the new fiction as of the new generation is its self-consciousness and a general scepticism about the value of all emotions. Hence it has not succeeded in giving us any such idyllic picture of love as we find,

[1] The Georgian Literary Scene by Frank Swinnerton (William Heinemann, Ltd., 1935), p. 454.

[2] Scheherazade or The Future of the English Novel (To-day and To-morrow Series) by John Carrunthers, p. 23.

for instance, in the celebrated scene in Richard Feverel in which young Richard meets Miss Desborough and is at once struck by the power of love.[1] The poetry of that scene has not been often rivalled outside of Shakespeare and it is probably unfair to expect anything like this from a generation which must live or die by the standard of rationality.

As Oliver Onions says: " But to-day writers and painters no longer speak from Sinai-clouds. Rather, from the pavement-edge, packed closer than the vendors of penny-toys."[2] This, of course, does not mark any fundamental cleavage with the past. In fact, the phenomenon cannot be even properly regarded as new in any sense, for Whitman, the American poet, emphatically proclaimed it in " Leaves of Grass " which was first published in 1855 in the shape of a small volume, containing only 12 poems. In Shaw's play, " Too True To Be Good " (first published in 1934), Aubrey has a few words about post-War literature. He tries to put the matter as nicely as he can instead of saying it straight out. He divides the human physiognomy into higher centres and lower centres. The former, he says, had been vocal in literature, and were a kind of badge to be worn for respectability's sake even when one is telling a lie. But the badge has been blown off since the War, and the lower centres have become vocal.[3] This does not add much information to our stock but it says cleverly enough that the grosser passions and instincts, which were not usually clothed with a literary dignity, have now acquired a new status and reference to them may be made freely.

Instead of trusting to a few primary instincts and sentiments, the novelist can now introduce a multiplicity of interests for the success of his work. Bishops, businessmen, biologists, chemists, physicists, historians, all speaking in their familiar phrases, offer a multiplicity of points of view, and this multiplicity is the essence of the new way of looking.[4] The ideas regarding literary art are fast undergoing a thorough change. Art is neither imitation nor ' expression,' nor again is it for its own sake. In Russia it sometimes acts as a handmaid of advertisement and it is now quite usual to hold that art cannot be divorced from some kind of propaganda. Viewed in this

1 The Ordeal of Richard Feverel by George Meredith, Chapter XV.
2 Little Devil Doubt. The Georgian Literary Scene by Frank Swinnerton, p. 305.
3 *Vide* Too True To Be Good by George Bernard Shaw, pp. 65-66.
4 *Vide* Point Counter Point, p. 266.

light it cannot rise above partisanship, and must identify itself with the interests of the Communist, the Fascist, the Nazi, or some other political camp. This attitude will be the origin of a large volume of literary work which the older canons would summarily reject. 'Impressionism,' which has flourished in art since the War, has also become a literary method with the "stream of consciousness" type of novelists and bids fair to hold its ground steadily for some time to come. Although much criticised in the beginning, it has now definitely established its vogue and its legitimacy as a form of art is no longer seriously questioned.

The disillusioned character of modern literature, to which we have had occasion to draw attention, is the result of a wrong way of looking at life. The facts relating to states of emotion are idealised before they are empirically understood and hence when the young writers come back from the dust and discomfort of actual experience, they produce a rather weary picture which is neither adequate nor just, reflecting as it does a disappointed mood. Aldous Huxley makes Philip, who is a keen observer, thus analyse this disillusionment: "We're brought up topsy-turvy. Art before Life, *Romeo and Juliet* and filthy stories before marriage....Hence all modern literature is disillusioned. Inevitably....We start with the poetical and proceed to the unpoetical."[1] The explanation does not, however, seem to cover all the facts. The outlook manifested in literature is built upon the sands which the sea of retiring faith has left behind. It has emerged out of an atmosphere of uncertain beliefs and the lack of any conviction to hold on to. It is also partly the result of the economic factors which are now at work. Comprehensively speaking, it is connected with new modes of thought which the post-War mentality ushered in after a series of experiments whose tentative quality still clings to it; science and scepticism have combined to take away from this generation any rest from the serenity of a settled belief. Even truth is relative. The era of absolutes is over with the emergence of Einstein. Religion has little significance in the general estimate. It is anathema in Russia and does not call forth any sincere zeal in the Protestant countries. Shortly after the War one hundred thousand churches closed down in America.[2] An increasing number of educated

[1] Point Counter Point, p. 395.
[2] *Vide* Scheherazade (To-day and To-morrow Series), p. 16.

men have ceased to belong to any Chuch. Love has more often been celebrated as a physical phenomenon than as a spiritual reality. Some of these ideas have come in reaction against the conventions which tended to curtail individual freedom, and are, therefore, to be studied in their true, historical perspective. The tone of the post-war literature, with all its oscillation and uncertainty, is often pre-eminently courageous. It will analyse all faith and affection out of existence and will not care to erect new attachments to take their place. Suspicion is cast even upon the achievement of science. "After all, the only truth that can be of any interest to us, or that we can know, is a human truth. And to discover that, you must look for it with the whole being, not with a specialized part of it. What the scientists are trying to get at is non-human truth. And the non-human truth isn't merely irrelevant ; it's dangerous. It distracts people's attention from the important human truth. It makes them falsify their experience in order that lived reality may fit in with abstract theory." [1] Few indeed would be prepared to hear such an observation made in a book by Aldous Huxley, whose devotion to science is a matter of family tradition as well as of acquired culture, and yet there he is, warning against a danger which certainly is not imaginary. As to the remarks about human truth, they form one of the many points of view presented in the book and do not constitute an argument for general faith in it. Wells represents the opposite extreme of the view held in the passage quoted above, and he will surely never be accused of wanting a faith. He has repeatedly set it forth in his books. But he belongs to the pre-War world. Indeed it was before the War that his best work in the popular kind of fiction was done. Then the propagandist strain grew in him, and he invented characters who could state and re-state the ideas he sponsored as thinker and publicist, could in fact incorporate them with their lives. Galsworthy, Bennett, Barrie, Shaw, all came into the limelight of literature before the War brought in its wake those ideas which have practically affected every important question in the life of a European. The intimate relations of life, child psychology, individual idiosyncrasy are now all studied carefully so that the knowledge acquired in this way may serve some practical end. The relation between the sexes is not now regarded as merely personal. Governments have felt themselves called upon to

[1] Point Counter Point, pp. 554-55.

undertake more detailed regulation of sexual life in the interest of the species. The multifarious changes that have taken place and the increased tempo of life which mark off the age from any on record have rendered this epoch highly transitional, and the literary work produced in it fully indicates the atmosphere of hurry and experimentation from which the new generation cannot escape. A further reason, already stated, explaining this phenomenon is the absence of a definite faith.

Psycho-analysis[1] which was a personal equipment with the artist, combining the elements of insight and observation, has now been erected into a science by Freud, Jung, Ferenz and Adler, whose investigation into the unconscious has led to many remarkable experiments in the sphere of Art and Literature. There was a period of undue emphasis on psycho-analysis when ideas borrowed from Freud and others were hastily dished up in fiction with very little regard for the truth of art. This undesirable excess is to be noticed in the works of J. D. Beresford, Miss May Sinclair and Miss Rebecca West. D. H. Lawrence also carries his analysis now and then too far to preserve the artistic harmony of his work. Such a defect is to be noticed in the relations between Birkin and Hermione,[2] where the subtlety and skill employed to set off the one against the other seem a little overdone. Psycho-analysis entered as a conscious element into English literature with Henry James. He was an American who concerned himself with the tone, colour and composition of his stories in the beginning of his literary career. His attitude was that of a professional artist which he was. Towards the end of the last century he found himself losing touch with the literary world where he seemed to fall into disfavour. He redeemed his position by "What Maisie Knew" (1897). This work marks an important departure in the history of fiction. Maisie's knowledge, to which the reader is given access, slowly, laboriously, as she acquired it herself, becomes an illuminating commentary upon her character. The knowledge abstractly is not interesting but it becomes so viewed in its bearing upon Maisie's character. James thus transfers the centre of interest from physical facts to the echoes they raise in the human soul, and with him began an epoch in which the story

[1] "Psycho-analysis" is only used as a technical term for a specific kind of psycho therapeutic treatment. But as the term is now in use in literary criticism, no effort is here made to discover a more suitable expression which will be less objectionable on literary grounds.

[2] In "Women in Love."

element came to be neglected till in the novel of ideas it has practically disappeared.

The interest in psychology which came into prominence with Henry James grew more and more under the influence of Tolstoy and Dostoievsky, whose pre-eminence as psychological novelists is universally acknowledged. They were first available in English in the beginning of the present century. The characters of Raskolnikov, Sonia, Maslova and the Prince, Anna Karenina, etc., stimulated interest in the inner consciousness whose movements were now studied with closer attention than ever before.

The example of these literary masters was at any rate more salutary and easier to appreciate than the scientific studies inaugurated by Freud and other thinkers which had no immediate good effect on literature. The names of the different complexes[1] were popularised and the merest literary tiro would make use of them giving his work a pseudo-scientific air.[2]

(Concluded.)

[1] Superiority-Complex, Inferiority-Complex, Narcissus Complex, Oedipus-Complex, etc.

[2] This forms the Introduction to my work on Recent English Fiction, some chapters of which have already been published in the pages of this Journal.

FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL FINANCE IN INDIA : AN INDUSTRIAL MORTGAGE BANK FOR INDIA *

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II

PROPORTION OF BONDS TO SHARE CAPITAL

AS already stated, the Industrial Mortgage Bank of India will issue bonds against the securities of the mortgages handed over to it by the several Provincial Institutions. Besides the paid-up share capital, the main source of funds for its operation will come from the proceeds of its bond issues. An important question which must be settled at this stage is what proportion the bonds issued by the Bank will bear to its capital and reserves. The sums obtained by a mortgage bank by issuing its bonds are analogous to the deposits received by commercial banks. But while the funds of the commercial banks are essentially short term, those of the mortgage banks are not so and may, therefore, be appropriately used for granting long term loans, running for several years. Convention or law dictates that commercial banks should maintain certain reserves to their liabilities. In the same way convention or law has dictated that an equilibrium should be maintained between the bonds in circulation and the outstanding loans. Generally the face value of the bonds in circulation should never exceed the total amount of the outstanding loans and in addition to this the extreme limit of bond issues is fixed at a certain number of times the paid-up capital, or the paid up capital *plus* reserves, the total volume of bonds in circulation always bearing a fixed proportion to the latter. In some cases, instead of stipulating for a fixed ratio between outstanding bonds and owned capital, the maximum bond issue is limited to a certain figure. The underlying idea in laying down such provisions is the prevention of excessive issue of bonds and the guarantee of the security of the bond-holder. Mortgage Banks whether agricultural, industrial or urban have almost invariably

* Continued from our last issue.

provided for some limitations to the issue of bonds. A study of a representative list of 22 agricultural mortgage banks in Germany shows that the bonds vary between 17 times the capital and reserves to 7·5 times, the average being 12 times. [1] The recently established Rentenbank Kreditanstalt, already referred to, has limited bond issues to six times the paid-up capital which may be increased to 8 times by special consent of the Reichsrat. In the case of agricultural mortgage banks generally the ratio has varied from 8 to 25 times the paid-up capital. [2] In the field of urban and industrial credit, however, the limit is more conservative. The Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, Ltd., has adopted the limit of 10 times the capital and reserves. [3] The Swedish Institute recently devised to furnish middle and long term credits to industry is to have the right of issuing bonds up to 4 times the capital guarantee and the reserve fund to be formed hereafter. [4] The Industrial Mortgage Bank of Saxony has limited its bond issues to 75 Million R.M. [5] and the Spanish Banco Credito Industrial to 150 million pesetas. [6] In the case of institutions issuing bonds or debentures, not necessarily mortgage banking institutions, the general rule is also to adopt some kind of limitation of bond issues. The British Investment Trusts have generally provisions putting some limit to their bond issues. The average of 50 of the leading British Trusts shows bonds to the extent of 39·27% of the total capitalisation or a ratio of total stocks outstanding of two to three. [7] The American Edge Law permits a company established under its provisions to issue debentures up to 10 times the aggregate capital and surplus of the issuing company.

There are, no doubt, some cases, where the only limitations are those of the bond issues being equal to the mortgages granted. The National Hungarian Farmers Mortgage Institute operates under such a provision. But the additional rule fixing the extreme limit of bond issues is desirable to enhance the security of the bond holder. The recent trend is in favour of putting such a limit as may be observed from the case of the Finnish Industrial Mortgage Bank which had

1 J. L. Cohen—The Mortgage Bank, p. 144.
2 M. T. Herrick—Rural Credits. p. 221.
3 Letter to the writer from the Managing Director of the Bank, dated 6th November 1934.
4 *The Economist*, Banking Supplement, May 12, 1934, p. 14.
5 Statutes of the Saxon Mortgage Bank, Sec. 6 (1).
6 *The Banker*, June, 1933, p. 169.
7 Lawrence M. Speaker—The Investment Trust, p. 35.

originally provided simply that bond issues should be limited to mortgages granted but has now restricted the amount of its bond issues to 10 times its capital and reserves.[1]

It is abundantly clear from the preceding discussion that some limitation should be placed on the amount of bond issues to be made by our proposed All-India Institute. The bonds should be made to bear some definite proportion to its share capital and reserves. It will tend to promote the security of the bonds and the confidence of the investors. It is surprising to find Mr. Manu Subeder advocating in his Minority Report that any hard and fast proportion of bonds to paid-up share capital need not and should not be laid down. Another wellknown Indian Banker (Sir S. N. Pockhanawalla) also made the point before the Central Banking Enquiry Committee that it was unnecessary to have any limitation on the debenture capital in relation to share capital. All this is contrary to established theory and practice and cannot be accepted.

In suggesting the fixation of a ratio of bonds to share capital in the case of the Indian Institute it should be remembered that the greater the proportion of bonds to capital and reserves, the smaller is the element of safety. Hence where the risk of investment is the greater, the relation of bonds issued to capital and reserves should be lower. Industrial Mortgage Banks cover their loans partly by mobile assets and hence must have the relation of bonds issued to capital lower than purely Land Mortgage Banks which advance against real estate. But at the same time it would not be advisable to fix the ratio at too low a figure, not only because it is not necessary but also because it will hinder the proper functioning of banks for lack of funds. The "Foreign Experts" who assisted the deliberations of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended the ratio of 2:1. Dr. Jeidels in the course of the discussions opined that it might just as well be 3:1, if the capital were not less than one crore. But the ratio under no circumstances should be higher. The Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee was entirely guided by the opinion of Dr. Jeidels in the matter and recommended the adoption of the ratio of 2:1.

The restriction of bonds to share capital as recommended by the experts and the Central Banking Enquiry Committee appears to us to

[1] Sec. 8, Articles of Association (Amended) 1934.

be unnecessarily conservative and severe. We are inclined to think that a higher proportion would not only be sound and adequate but even necessary so that it might not fall short of the reasonable requirements and might not injure the revenue-earning position of the bank by not providing the necessary turn-over on which expenses could be spread out. In the valuable note of dissent of Mr. N. R. Sarker, already referred to, it has been suggested that the limit of 5 times the amount of the share capital may be adopted. This is a fair and reasonable limit and may be accepted. We would only recommend that the reserves should also be taken into account, that is, the bonds should be limited to 5 times the amount of share capital *plus* reserves. The ratio may be increased later on, if necessary, up to 10 times the amount of share capital and reserves but should not go beyond that.

State Participation of Share Capital and State Guarantee of Bonds

We have proposed that State aid should be furnished to the Indian organisation in the shape of subscription to share capital. In the peculiar conditions of India we are inclined to believe that Government assistance not only in the form of subscription to share capital but also in the form of a guarantee of the bonds of the Central Institute will be necessary. The Indian investing public are proverbially shy and nervous. In order to make the bonds attractive to them and to draw out from them the required capital, it is essential that Government should not only hold some shares but should, at least in the beginning, guarantee the bonds. Even Dr. Jeidels admits that in the beginning the sale will be much easier with Government guarantee. When his attention was sufficiently drawn to the peculiar circumstances in India, he did not strongly object to a temporary guarantee. The guarantee will be necessary to attract investors not only from within the country but also from without it. We have already stressed the necessity for tapping the foreign capital market and the guarantee is sure to inspire confidence in the foreign investors who may not otherwise come forward and open their purse-strings. It is satisfactory to note that the Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended a guarantee of the interest on the bonds and further laid down that the guarantee should be limited to the first issue of

bonds or to a certain period of currency of the bond issue. It may, however, be urged that such limited guarantee has some drawbacks, for the difficulty may arise that the public may be unwilling to take up subsequent issues when made without any guarantee at all. But it is expected that after a few years, when the public will correctly appreciate the nature of the organisation and be familiar with its working, the stimulus of a Government guarantee will not be required to induce them to invest. The same thing has happened in Japan and elsewhere.

In recommending this State participation of share capital and State guarantee of the bonds, we have been chiefly guided by the fact that State aid has been a predominant feature in almost all instances where specialist institutions have been started either for the financing of agriculture or industry. There are numerous instances where the State has contributed wholly or partly the capital of agricultural mortgage banks or guaranteed their bonds. Even in England the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation received a Government subsidy and its debentures were guaranteed by the British Government. It is the same story with the recently started Industrial Mortgage Banks in Europe. The entire capital of the Saxon Mortgage Bank and 80% of the capital of the Hungarian Institution have been contributed by the respective Governments while the bonds of the Finnish and the Saxon Bank and the " bank debentures " of the Polish National Economic Bank placed on foreign markets enjoy a Government guarantee. The debentures of the Japanese Industrial Bank issued abroad were also guaranteed by the Government in several instances. In the case of the recently floated Industrial Credit Company of Ireland, it was provided that the Irish Government would take up all shares left unsubscribed by the public.

Business of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of India

As we have already suggested, the All-India Institute will confine itself to the issue of mortgage bonds and will not furnish loans direct to the industrial concerns. The main business of the provincial institutes will be the provision of long term amortisation loans to industries—joint-stock, co-operative and in some instances even private. The loans, as is usual with the post-War industrial mortgage banks in Europe, are to be furnished on first mortgages of industrial real estate,

land, factory buildings, hydro-electric installations, machinery, plant, etc. Certain types of property have been regarded as undesirable security for mortgage loans, and mortgage banks, in many cases, have been specifically prohibited from lending against such security. Theatres, mines, and quarries belong to this category and have been excluded from the business of several mortagage banks, for example, the French Credit Foncier, [1] the Polish National Economic Bank [2] and the National Mortgage Bank of Argentine. Such properties are incapable of returning money in a regular manner and do not constitute a proper basis for the issue of bonds. It will be unsound for an Institution of the type we are contemplating to grant loans against such security. Mortgages of ships as basis for the issue of bonds will be extremely insecure owing to changes and rapid decrease in value and the material difficulty in enforcing claims. Although ship mortgage business was a favourite line with the Industrial Bank of Japan and ship mortgage banks have recently been established in several European countries, we would like to debar our Industrial Mortgage Bank from engaging in such business.

The proportion which the amount of the loan will bear to the approved value of the industrial property offered for mortgage will have to be carefully determined. The law relating to mortgage banks in every country has, generally speaking, laid down that the amount of the loan to be granted should never exceed a certain fixed percentage of the estimated value of mortgaged properties. In the case of agricultural mortgage banks the percentage is very liberal and has varied from 40 to even 75%.[3] In the case of the European industrial mortgage banks, the percentage is distinctly lower and more conservative, and has not exceeded 50% and in some cases is even 30%. In fixing the percentage in the case of the Indian set-up, the practice prevalent in other countries should serve as the guiding star. It should be stressed that the agricultural mortgage banks make their loans entirely on real estate, while industrial mortagage banks lend partly on mobile assets, at least on assets not so immobile as in the other case. The question of the relative security or insecurity of

1 Herrick—Rural Credits, p. 120.

2 See the writer's article "The National Economic Bank of Poland"—*The Calcutta Review*, September, 1934.

3 The National Mortgage Bank of Greece, the Royal Swedish Mortgage Bank, the Land Mortgage Bank of Warsaw, the Hungarian Land Mortage Bank and the Agricultural Mortgage Bank of Columbia have the limit fixed at 50%. In Italy and Belgium the limit is 66⅔% and in the Netherland Institutions it is 75%.

industrial mortgage banks will engage our attention later on. But at the present moment, their assets being more mobile, these may be considered to be subject to relatively more rapid depreciation and there should be a higher margin of safety here than in the case of agricultural mortgage institutes. The latter may with comparative safety lend up to 60% or even 75% of the estimated value of the mortgaged land, but such a policy will not probably be wise for the industrial mortgage banks.

The amount of the loan should be restricted to a more conservative proportion of the appraised value of the industrial property offered as security. But at the same time it must be considered that if the percentage fixed is too low, it will spell great inconvenience to the borrower who will find it difficult to satisfy his requirement, and it will thus defeat the very purpose for which the Bank has been started. We are inclined to believe that consistent with safety to itself and convenience to the borrower, the amount of the loan made by the Indian Institute should not exceed 50% of the value of the land, 40% of the buildings, and 30% of the plant and machinery. If water power forms a portion of industrial property, loans may be made up to 30% of its estimated value as in the case of the National Economic Bank of Poland. To increase the security, mortgage of additional properties may be demanded in any case. Such practice is not unknown with the industrial mortgage banks of Europe.

Purpose of the Mortgage Loans

The loans granted by the Provincial Mortgage Institutes should be for extension, modernisation and replacement of plant and machinery. They should play an important part in the rationalisation of industry. Reorganisation is urgently called for in a large number of Indian industries and our set-up should earnestly devote itself to the financing of the reorganisation schemes. The Japanese Industrial Bank has filled an important rôle in the rationalisation of Japanese industries in recent years.[1] Although the Indian Central Institute will not lend direct to the industrial concerns, it will exercise a general supervision over the loan operations of the Provincial institutes, and whenever

[1] Fifty-sixth Report of the Industrial Bank of Japan for the half-year ending December 31, 1929.

rationalisation is called for, it should see that primary attention is given to the financing of schemes of rationalisation.

As regards the provision of initial finance to industry, in all discussions relating to the establishment of a specialist Institution for financing industries in India, it has been urged that the Institution should have statutory power not only to furnish long term loans but also to take up and underwrite industrial shares and debentures. The majority of the witnesses who appeared before the Central Banking Enquiry Committee suggested that the future Industrial Bank of India should provide a part at least of the initial block capital of industries. The Majority Report preferred not to discuss in detail the specific business to be undertaken by the Industrial Corporations recommended therein. Mr. Manu Subedar in his Minority Report advocated that his All-India Bank should take up preferential capital of new concerns up to one-third of the amount subscribed by the public as well as debentures. Mr. N. R. Sarker in his minute of dissent also laid down that one of the most important functions of the Indian Institute should consist in underwriting and subscribing shares of industrial companies.

In all these schemes the issue and underwriting business has been combined with that of making long term loans. The example of the Japanese Instustrial Bank and its forerunner the French Credit Mobilier must have exercised a great deal of influence. But if the Institute, as we have contemplated it, is to furnish long term mortgage loans, it will not be desirable to mix it up with issue or underwriting business. Nowhere, to our knowledge, has a mortgage bank done so. We have made a careful enqiry into the working of the recenly established Industrial Mortgage Banks of Europe and we have been informed by their authorities that they do not make it their business to provide initial capital to industrial concerns by subscribing to their shares. The National Economic Bank of Poland, which is, however, an omnibus institution dealing in all kinds of mortgage and other credits used to provide initial block capital to joint-stock companies in this manner. But by an order of the President of the Republic, dated the 3rd December, 1930, Act 11 of its Charter which gave it the right of industrial participation was cancelled.[1] The Industrial Bank of Japan does indeed combine investment trust

[1] Report of the Board of Directors, N. E. B., for the year 1930 (Warsaw, 1931), p. 46.

business with that of industrial mortgage but we have already stressed the undesirability of such practice and have indicated it as one of the main reasons for rejecting the Japanese model for India.

It may, however, be argued that if the proposed Indian organisation does not furnish initial block capital, it will but touch only a fringe of the problem. But it may be suggested that when the industrial company has raised a certain portion, say 50%, of its share capital, it may invest it in land, buildings or machinery which in turn may be offered as the basis of a loan from the industrial mortgage bank. The subscription or underwriting of industrial shares should never be the business of a mortgage bank.

Duration of Industrial Mortgage Loans

The loans granted by the Provincial Institutes should be long and medium term. In the case of agricultural mortgage banks, a real estate loan runs from 10 to even 75 years. Evidently industrial mortgage loans cannot run for 50 or 60 years. Industrial property, as already pointed out, is subject to more rapid changes in value, and plant and machinery depreciate quickly. In the circumstances, the industrial mortgage banks have nowhere adopted the practice of their *confrères*, the agricultural institutes. The Banco Credito Industrial of Spain appears to be the only institution dealing in long term loans to industry which advanced for 50 years.[1] But this is not at all a sound practice for an institution of such type. While on the one hand the period for which the loans will be granted should not be fixed so long, on the other hand, it should not also be too short to be termed reasonably long term. The mortgage loans of the Japanese Industrial Bank to industry in general do not run for periods of more than five years. Dr. J. C. Sinha, following the Japanese Bank, suggested in a recent article that the long term loans of the future Indian Institution should not be for a longer period than five years.[2] But five-year loans can never be considered to be reasonably long term and if the proposed Indian Institution were confined to the granting of such loans, the problem of long term industrial finance will never be solved in India and the whole set-up will be of little practical value. Mr. Manu Subedar suggested a period of 10 years but even

[1] *The Banker*, June, 1933, p. 169.
[2] *The Modern Review*, January, 1932, p. 56.

this is not long enough. The practice with all specialist institutions designed in recent years for long term financing of industry has invariably been to grant loans for periods much longer than five or even ten years. Twenty or twenty-five years have been the usual period for long term mortgage loans to industry, as may be observed from the instances of the Finnish and the Hungarian Industrial Mortgage Institute. In the case of the Polish National Economic Bank the maximum period of redemption of industrial loans was orginally fixed at 18½ years but it was extended to 20 years by a law of 20th December, 1932. The " Credit for Industry " which has recently been established in England for financing small and medium size industries is granting loans for periods ranging from two to twenty years.[1] The long term industrial loans of the proposed Swedish Institute will be for over 10 years and the medium term ones will run from 1 to 10 years.[2]

Our Provincial Institutions, under the circumstances, may very well advance for periods of at least 15 years and even 20 years. The 20-year period should not be exceeded. Industrial property—plant and machinery—depreciate pretty rapidly and a longer period may wipe away a considerable portion of the value of the security offered. The middle term credit may run from 2 to 10 years.

The long term advances of the institutes should have provision for amortisation. In the schemes that have hitherto been formulated for an Indian Industrial Bank, there does not appear to be one which provides for amortisation. The system of amortisation is extremely needful and beneficial to all borrowers of long periods. It eases their burden and enables them to pay off the loan gradually by the slow returns of business. It has been aptly observed: " Without it every real estate credit system is an incomplete and fragile scaffold, deceiving the public and endangering the welfare of any nation."[3]

There are two principal methods by which an amortisable loan may be extinguished, those of the German Landschafts and the French Credit Foncier. Under the latter system, the annuity determined by the length of the credit and the agreed rate of interest remains the same during the entire period of the loan and is usually paid in semi-annual instalments This is the system that has generally been adopted by the industrial mortgage banks, and in the case of

1 *The Times*, Trade and Engineering Supplement, Banking Section, June 30, 1934. p. 8.
2 *The Economist*, Banking Supplement, May 12, 1934, p. 14.
3 Royer, quoted by Herrick—Rural Credits, p. 22.

India, the loans granted by the Provincial Institute may also be made repayable in annuities in semi-annual instalments. These annuities will be made up of interest, amortisation and cost of administration. An additional payment may also be demanded in the form of risk amounting to, say, ¼%, as in the case of the Provincial Mortgage Bank of Saxony.

Deposits and Short Term Loans

Mortgage banks as a rule are prohibited from encroaching on the territory of commercial banks. On the one hand, they cannot receive deposits and on the other they must not grant credits except on mortgage. The question of receiving deposits and of the provision of short term funds for industry has been frequently raised in connection with the functions of the proposed Indian Institute and also came up before the Central Banking Enquiry Committee. A prominent Indian Banker told the Central Banking Enquiry Committee that the Industrial Corporation might receive deposits for periods of not less than three years. The Committee itself also favoured the idea of taking long term deposits by the Provincial Industrial Corporations, proposed by them.

But we are inclined to believe that it will not be a legitimate function of industrial mortgage banks to invite and accept deposits whether long or short term. It would not only be a competition with existing joint-stock banks but it would also be outside its proper sphere. The cases where mortgage institutes have been permitted to receive deposits are very few and even there the amount has been limited. The Industrial Mortgage Banks of Europe, so we have been informed by their authorities, do not receive any deposits at all.[1]

As regards the question of granting short term loans, there are two aspects from which it may be viewed. First, mortgage institutes have frequently funds not required for immediate investment. These funds, it is suggested, may be permitted to be utilized for short term loans. And secondly, industrial enterprises which have mortgaged their real estate to them are likely to find it difficult to raise their working capital from the ordinary channels. In the circumstances,

[1] Letter to the writer from the Managing Director of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland, dated the 6th November, 1934.

it may perhaps be necessary for the industrial mortgage bank to furnish working capital to industry.

It is undoubtedly desirable that the two functions of making long and short term loans should be segregated and vested in entirely different institutions. In a few cases mortgage banks have no doubt been known to cultivate the business of short term loans with some restrictions. The two striking examples in this respect are the Municipal Mortgage Bank of Finland and the Credit Foncier of France. But generally speaking neither the agricultural mortgage institutes nor the recently established industrial mortgage banks in Europe make it their business to advance short term funds or working capital. The Managing Director of the Industrial Mortgage Bank of Finland informs us that the institution does not engage in ordinary banking business nor does it furnish working capital to industry.

The free funds of the mortgage institute are sometimes permitted to be invested temporarily in certain listed bills and securities or utilized in purchasing their own bonds and even making loans on certain specified securities. The Industrial Mortgage Institute of Hungary is a case in point.[1] While we cannot advocate with Mr. Manu Subedar that the Industrial Bank of India will advance short term loans to industry, we would suggest that the free funds of the Institute should be invested temporarily in the same way as those of the Hungarian Bank. The working capital of industry should be obtained partly from paid-up share capital and partly from the commercial banks. As regards the question that industrial concerns which have mortgaged their real assets to the mortgage institute may find it difficult to raise their working capital from the ordinary banks, it may be interesting to point out that no such difficulty has been experienced by the Finnish industries which have offered their fixed assets as security to the Finnish Mortgage Bank.

Restrictions on the Business of the Mortgage Institute

What would be the field of operation of the proposed Indian Institute ? Will its sphere be limited to non-competitive lines of industry ? Will it avoid small industries ? These are questions which should now engage our attention.

[1] Articles of Association, para. 51. See the writer's article "The National Hungarian Industrial Mortgage Institute"—*The Calcutta Review*, July, 1934.

Dr. Jeidels and the other " foreign experts " following him were definitely of the opinion that the business of the Indian Industrial Corporation should be restricted to non-competitive lines of industry. An Industrial Corporation, financially assisted by Government, writes Dr. Jeidels in his memorandum, must not enter competitive fields of industry but should be restricted to " the field of pioneer enterprise of non-competitive character, the opening up of mineral resources and large public utilities, principally electrical power schemes." [1] It should be restricted to such fields not only because they are non-competitive or almost so but also because " in order to establish the reputation of such industrial corporation, one ought to start with something assured of success, avoiding the risk which naturally lies in such ventures as glass, pottery, electric goods and chemicals, etc." [2] In discussing Mr. N. R. Sarker's note, Dr. Jeidels and the other experts made it quite plain that they viewed with alarm any suggestion that the Industrial Bank would extend its operations to a large variety of industries.[3]

The position taken by the foreign experts is quite untenable. It was also rejected by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee. The Industrial Mortgage Banks, after the pattern of which we have suggested that the Indian Bank should be set up, have in every case been endowed with some form of State aid, including State participation of share capital. But nowhere has any attempt been made to restrict by statute the operations of such banks to the class of business as recommended by the "Experts." A perusal of their annual reports makes it abundantly clear that they finance every kind and every branch of industry. Iron and metal, chemical, woollen, cot silk, printing and publishing, paper, foodstuff, china, toy and brick industries are some of the most important to be assisted by the Hungarian Institute.[4] The Saxon, the Finnish and even the Polish institutions have similarly financed a wide variety of industries. No limit has also been imposed on the character of the business to be engaged in by the more recent specialist institutions which have been or will soon be established under the auspices of the State, such as the Industrial Credit Co. of Ireland and the Swedish Institute for

[1] Report of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, Vol. I, Part I, p. 639.
[2] Discussions with Foreign Experts—Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, Vol. IV, p. 231, p. 237.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 341-42.
[4] Report of the National Hungarian Industrial Mortgage Institute, 1931.

industrial finance. In Italy, although State-aided institutions have been started for granting long and middle term credits to public works and public utility undertakings, the Istituto Mobiliare Italiano was also created in 1931 to be entrusted with the financing of industrial concerns generally.[1]

Any attempt to restrict the programme of the future Industrial Mortgage Bank of India to public utility companies and non-competitive lines of industry will not only defeat the very purpose for which it has been created but will also be fraught with disastrous consequences in that proper diversification of risks will not be achieved.

As regards the question of assistance to small industries, the opinion of the foreign experts was definitely against it. But we are inclined to think that our mortgage institute should cater for the long term needs of all kinds of organised industries, large, medium and small. Such a policy will undoubtedly secure diversification not only according to the nature of the industry but also according to its size. The practice of the Saxon and Hungarian Institutes tends to support our view in this respect. The Industrial Bank of Japan has not also confined its assistance to large industries, as the foreign experts erroneously believed, but has liberally assisted small and medium sized industries as well in post-War years.[2] There will be many practical difficulties in working a separate institution in India for financing small enterprisse in addition to the set-up contemplated by us. The contention that the interests of the smaller enterprises will be neglected by an institution of the type recommended may be disposed of by suggesting that the directors of the Provincial Institutes should include representatives of smaller industries who will look to their particular interests. The directors might be of two types, Class A and Class B, the latter to include the representatives of the smaller industries.

Appraisal

Accurate appraisal is a very important problem with mortgage banks. Everything depends on the proper valuation of the property offered for mortgage and the margin of safety allowed, since this constitutes the security not only of the bond-holder but also of the

[1] *The Statist*, July 15, 1933, p. 91, and Oct. 21, 1933, p. 548.
[2] Herbert Bratter—Japanese Banking, p. 181. Also Sixtieth Report of the Industrial Bank of Japan for the half-year ending December 31, 1931.

bank itself. The bank must be very strict in the examination of the industrial property to be mortgaged. Different kinds of industrial property have to be valued in different ways, and separate appraisers may have to be employed for that purpose. Thus the Finnish Institution has employed different " assessors " for valuing buildings and machinery, for landed and forest property and for water power. The appraisers should not only concentrate their attention on present market values but should also take a broad view of the general prospects of the industry in future.

The All-India Bank would require some machinery for examining the mortgages offered but this need not be elaborate. It will rely to a great extent upon the judgment of the borrowing banks which give their additional pledge. It is the Provincial Institutes which have to employ a well-equipped staff of experts, statisticians, businessmen, lawyers, engineers, accountants and economists. The Directorate may be so selected as to include some experts. The staff of experts will sift out the desirable proposals from among the many applications for loans, will assess properly the various forms of industrial property offered as mortgage and will also make full enquiries concerning " finance, production, sales and market capacity and personnel " of the business applying for loans. Industrial concerns having a fairly satisfactory trading record over a period of years, in a sound financial position and well managed at the time of application should be primarily assisted. Every facility should be given to those that have already succeeded in building up business to a certain point so that further progress may be made possible. Special attention is to be given to the financing of rationalisation schemes. The financing of newly established concerns should not be too strictly prohibited. A new industry should not be viewed with instinctive suspicion and turned down at once. Every proposition should be judged on its own merits.

V SPECIAL PRIVILEGES AND SAFEGUARDS

The Bank is to be surrounded with special privileges and safeguards as is usual with mortgage institutes, whether agricultural or industrial. The rights of such institutes have to be very carefully protected in the interest of the bond-holders. The bonds which are the main source out of which they derive their necessary funds have

to be popularised among the investing public and extraordinary facilities have, therefore, to be accorded to the banks to collect their dues. The process allowed for realizing arrears of interest and annuity has to be particularly quick and effective. In all cases they have been endowed with the right to take drastic proceedings against a delinquent borrower. On appeal the Courts must also give their decision swiftly and summarily, the records of the mortgage bank constituting indisputable evidence. The Bank has frequently the right to be appointed "sequestri curator" of the mortgaged properties.[1] The claims of the Bank take precedence over all other claims. No third party can acquire any claim over the properties and assets mortgaged by the borrowing concern. The Indian Institute should be endowed with similar rights and safeguards so that it may function well. In every case the buildings, machines, tools, implements, etc., which have been offered for mortgage must be insured against damage by fire, earthquake or any other casualty with an insurance company approved of by the lending Provincial Bank. Audit and revaluation of assets must be permitted at any time. As regards the right of the borrower to repay his loan before the appointed time, he may be permitted to do it but a stipulation should be made that a notice of repayment should be given and a redemption fee should be paid as is demanded by the English Agricultural Mortgage Corporation. It must be remembered that the Bank will have its own liability for its bond issues, and having regard to that it should not allow non-contractual payment to be readily made but it should fix a redemption fee sufficient to be commensurate with the cost of the funds it employs.

Central Register of Industrial Mortgages

The framing of a Central Register of Industrial Mortgages as is to be found in Hungary is a condition precedent to the establishment of an Industrial Mortgage Bank for India. Without such a register, it will not be possible for the Bank to know immediately whether it is advancing actually against a first mortgage. The existence of prior mortgages, if not known, will detract from the value of the property and thus injure the interests of the Bank. It is essential for the

[1] See the writer's article "The National Hungarian Industrial Mortgage Institute." —*The Calcutta Review*, July, 1934.

development of a proper system of mortgage credit that safeguards should be introduced against the mortgaging of the same piece of property several times without disclosing the fact of any prior mortgage to later lenders. A great check to such abuses in the sphere of agricultural mortgage credit is furnished by the "Grundbuch" of Germany. It is a real estate register, registering the property relationship and the debt burden of every piece of land. It is open for inspection to all interested parties and embodies the principle of priority over all other rights entered subsequently. Following Germany, most Central European countries have developed a complete machinery for registering mortgages in a Grundbuch. A Central Register of Industrial Mortgages, embodying all the details of ownership, rights of third parties, etc., is likely to be much more advantageous than the "purge" method of the "Credit Foncier" of France. According to this method, advertisements are made in papers inviting objections from possible creditors to a proposed loan on the mortgage of real estate. It is no doubt speedy and safe and at the same time dispenses with the necessity of fresh legislation. But it exposes intending borrowers to a blaze of unwelcome publicity and is not, therefore, likely to be relished by them. The experience in India under the State Aid to Industries Acts when objections to applications of loans have similarly been invited by advertisement in newspapers and Government Gazettes has not at all been happy and does not warrant a repetition of the same system in the Mortgage Bank. All these considerations have impressed us in favour of instituting a Central Register in every province.

Relative Insecurity of Industrial Mortgage Banks

The extension of the principles of mortgage banking to the field of industrial credit has not been favourably received in some quarters; and the establishment of industrial mortgage banks which will grant long term loans on mortgage of industrial real property, machinery, plant, factory buildings, etc., has been viewed with considerable misgivings. Agricultural land is as good as permanent and seldom undergoes depreciation so quickly and so considerably as to wipe out the security. Industrial property is, however, subject to more rapid depreciation than agricultural real estate. Owing to changes in value and rapid depreciation, industrial plant and machinery which are used as bases for the issue of industrial mortgage bonds have been considered very

insecure. But it must be pointed out that agricultural property is subject to fluctuations and trade cycles and depressions even much more than industrial property. In recent years the magnitude of fluctuations in agricultural rent and prices has been indeed enormous. The phenomenal rise during the Great War was quickly followed after 1920 by a catastrophic fall in the whole world of agriculture. An interesting feature of the recent world-wide economic crisis was that the fall of agricultural prices was relatively greater than that of manufactured goods. Agricultural property in the recent depression has undergone depreciation of value much more serious than industrial. The collapse of agricultural prices has been so severe that there is a striking tendency among several banks primarily designed for furnishing agricultural mortgage credit to invest increasingly in urban real estate. An outstanding example is that of the French "Credit Foncier."

An industrial mortgage bank has one single advantage of considerable importance over agricultural and other mortgage banks in that it can distribute its risks of investment much better amongst widely different types of undertakings. Every kind and every size of industrial enterprise may be represented in its investments. Again, in the case of the Industrial Mortgage Institutes the duration of the loan and the period of amortisation are sufficiently shorter than the same with agricultural banks. The percentage of the estimated value of the property up to which a loan can be advanced is also fixed on a more conservative basis. Taking all these things into consideration, we are inclined to think that an Industrial Mortgage Bank is not less secure than an agricultural motgage institution. The recent experiment with industrial mortgage banking that has been made in Saxony, Finland and Hungary has been attended with considerable success and clearly demonstrates that such a type of institution is not only safe but is also a financial mechanism of considerable utility. Losses on mortgage loans made by the banks in every case have been either *nil* or insignificant, while the borrowing industrial enterprises have been highly benefited.[1]

There is a permanent need of this type of loan. Even in Europe, where the capital market is highly organized and capital is neither shy nor unavailable, industries of a certain size or of a certain type, though perfectly sound, have met with great difficulties in obtaining their

[1] See the writer's article "Industrial Mortgage Banks"—*The Calcutta Review*, June, July and September, 1934.

necessary long term finances. In much poorer countries as India, where capital is proverbially shy and the market for it is unorganized or non-existent, industrial undertakings have to face yet greater difficulties in securing their capital and in a great many cases have to be kept back for want of it. Industrial mortgage banks are designed to satisfy this need which is always present in our economic society.

The establishment of a Specialist Institution for financing industries in India has been resisted by non-Indian opinion on the alleged ground that attempts at specialised industrial banking were made in the past and the experiment had definitely failed. A large number of institutions sprang up, no doubt, during the post-War years in every part of India, styling themselves as "Industrial Banks." But curiously enough, although they called themselves such, none of them had any claim to that title. Truly speaking, they were neither "industrial" nor even banks. No attempt was ever made in the past to establish or work an institution in India for financing industries, which was well equipped, well managed and conceived on truly scientific lines. Even the Tata Industrial Bank which attracted considerable attention and was even taken as a model by the Industrial Commission was conducted on lines which clearly showed complete ignorance or lack of an understanding of the basic principles of industrial financing. It is not surprising that it had to come to grief and give up its industrial business within a few yeras of its establishment. The Organisation that we have in mind has no resemblance to these so-called "industrial banks" of the past and we consider it to be not only theoretically sound but also of considerable practical utility.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DEMOCRACY

DHARAM BIR VOHRA (B.SC., HONS.)

ORTHODOX democracy has proved itself miserably unequal to the exigencies of modern government. The doctrines of the nineteenth century liberals, dearly cherished by progressive individuals all the world over, have brought chaos rather than progress to civilized nations. Everywhere, the principle of *laissez-faire* stands discredited and the old war cry of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" leaves men cold. Everywhere democratic forms of government, once hailed as the greatest political advance in human affairs, are suspect.

The inefficiency of democracy first became noticeable in its economic aspect. One of the fundamental dogmas of the liberal school was that individuals should be left free to handle their property according to their private wishes. This principle was productive of undeniably good results during the greater part of last century when industry was in its early stages of development. The population in all countries was then largely settled upon the land and was little affected by the rising tide of industrialism. Capitalists could turn their wealth to any purpose without causing the least hardship to the common people. The only class to suffer were the labourers, but their misery was more than counterbalanced by the general prosperity which pervaded the industrial world.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, capitalism had developed to such an extent as to vitally influence large masses of people. At the same time, the popularization of democracy enabled these masses to become articulate and to demand that industry shall not override their interests. Thus, the capitalists were bound, sooner or later, to govern their actions not solely by the motive of private profit but by a consideration of the common good. In other words, democracy was coming into conflict with one of its own children—the principle of *laissez-faire*.

How this conflict would have shaped itself if war had not intervened will never be known. The war, however, brought about a widespread abandonment of the *laissez-faire* theory. The dislocation in trade resultant upon the war necessitated the development of various

essential industries in all the belligerent countries, irrespective of the suitability or otherwise of local conditions. Clearly this overlapping required to be eliminated if the pre-war cosmopolitan economy was to be restored. But such elimination would have entailed much travail in the countries concerned and was, therefore, not carried into effect. On the other hand, the States themselves undertook to control and direct those portions of the capitalist system which happened to fall within their boundaries. This procedure was facilitated by the fact that all the nations had had to submit to wholesale commandeering during the war years ; so that the transference of the capitalist system from private to national hands was accepted as a matter of course.

Only in Britain, France, and the United States was an effort made to carry on with *laissez-faire* capitalism. Between 1922 and 1928, in fact, the pre-war economic cosmopolitanism was more or less restored in the financial sphere. But the peoples who had been struck the hardest by the war refused to accept this financial leadership, because they feared a repetition of the chaos and destruction which had overtaken the world in 1914. This fear was clearly expressed in their votes after the war, parties professing uncompromising nationalism, both in politics and in industry, receiving the greatest support. In the face of such a mood on the part of Europe's millions, Britain and France could scarcely hope to achieve a reconstruction of the pre-war cosmopolitanism ; and their signal failure in the effort sounded the death-knell of *laissez faire*.

However, the war has nothing essential to do with the abandonment of the *laissez-faire* theory. For, as we have already observed, laissez-faire was beginning to come into conflict with political democracy even before the nineteenth century had ended. So long as people were not directly affected by private capitalism, they had no objection to it. But with the growth of industrialism a time was bound to come when the capitalists would find the " general will " running contrary to their own desires ; (for private interest and the common good are, at least to a partial extent, mutually exclusive terms.) Thus *laissez-faire* would undoubtedly have become irksome to the people and they would ultimately have found means to do away with it. All that the war did was to expedite this consummation.

Thus one of the most cherished principles of nineteenth century democracy has failed to survive the age in which it first received

definite expression. It held good, or at least was thought to hold good, for conditions of elementary industrialism ; but is utterly untenable in a regime of advanced technology. For the more powerful machinery becomes, the more vitally and extensively does it influence the human race at large, and the more clearly are the defects of the system under which it is run brought out. *Laissez-faire*, in fact, was a fallacious theory ever since it was propounded ; but it required a good deal of industrial advancement to make the fallacy sufficiently obvious to the common man.

That a realization of the obnoxiousness of *laissez-faire* capitalism is not confined to the non-democratic peoples is demonstrated by the increasing restrictions which are being applied to large-scale industries in Britain, France and the United States. The slump of 1929 brought home even to the most stubborn protagonists of nineteenth century liberalism the terrible dangers arising from unregulated industrialism. For whatever the ultimate cause of Trade Cycles may be, it is certain that the irrational alternations of over-confidence and under-confidence in industrial prospects have a good deal to do with that cause. And it is precisely such alternations that *laissez-faire* generates, thereby involving millions and millions of human beings in dark misery. The stupendous unemployment that followed the slump naturally shook the faith of men in democratic institutions, and discontent ran high. In Germany, indeed, actual revolution took place, and democracy was completely repudiated. Even in Britain and France, notable changes were carried into effect: Government took an active part in trying to adjust the economic machinery with a view to mitigating the severities of the slump. America was the last to interfere with industry, but the delay was more than made up by the rigour of the control applied. In all these countries, which had so far professed an unqualified belief in *laissez-faire*, capitalists found their movements increasingly regulated and restricted by the State.

We have so far been considering democracy only in its economic aspect. Turning now to its political aspect, we are confronted with an equally dejecting state of affairs. An uneducated and ignorant electorate continually comes in the way of a correct solution of urgent questions and prevents decisions being taken at the opportune moment. Political parties which seriously aim at guiding the country along rational lines can rarely enlist the support of the masses, which are more influenced by an appeal to emotion than by a call to reason.

Consequently those who succeed in getting elected are usually unscrupulous demagogues with no ability to cope with the problems that confront them—problems which demand not merely dispassionate thought but a deep knowledge of economics and politics. Even when a candidate for election possesses real ability in addition to demagogic talents, he cannot hope to do much useful work after election. For his suggestions and proposals, however commendable intrinsically, are only too likely to be swept aside by the ignorant emotionality of the other members. M. Alderton Pink relates how mass sentiment in France and the United States resulted in the indefinite postponement of the Lausanne Conference proposed for a consideration of the Reparations problem in 1932; the ministers of the two countries, indeed, were fully aware of the urgency of the matter but public opinion—as usual entirely uninformed—deterred them from collaborating with the other Powers which were to be represented at the Conference. When at last the Conference was held, ignorant electorates again paralysed their representatives and effectively prevented the evolution of any satisfactory agreement.

Political democracy also renders the taking of rapid decisions impossible. Every new situation in national or international affairs has to be submitted to the judgment of Parliament, and by the time a decision is reached, circumstances may have changed so much as to make it inapplicable. The quality of the decision is, of course, a separate matter. On occasions calling for rapid action, therefore, dilatory Parliamentary procedure has invariably been abandoned. The latest example is furnished by the present French Government, which, in view of a critical foreign situation, has vested extraordinary powers in the Premier, M. Daladier. The British Government, also, has often had to act lately without consulting Parliament, despite the persistent protests of Mr. Attlee and his group.

Thus, in the political field also, orthodox democracy has manifested its unsuitability for modern conditions; it has failed utterly to deal with the problems and exigencies of a world which is becoming increasingly complex.

There has arisen, therefore, a widespread apathy and even hostility towards democratic institutions. The man in the street is distrustful of democracy because it cannot give him economic security; the intellectual person has lost faith in democracy because of its general inefficiency, both in the economic and in the political

fields. Thus all classes are turning to the newer and more vital doctrines which have acquired a challenging importance during the course of a mere generation. Everywhere, men are transferring their allegiance from Parliamentary democracy to Fascism or Communism. Democracy has ceased to command any respect, even from the peoples among whom it still exists.

If this situation continues for any considerable period, democracy is bound to be exterminated by the newer creeds. The ideals of liberty which inspired men a century ago will find no support and authoritarianism will become the rule. Small cliques will acquire power in all countries and, by ruthless regimentation and propaganda, keep entire millions in abject subjugation. Irresponsible autocrats will, through systematic indoctrination, subordinate to their purposes countless multitudes made submissive by bio-chemical manipulation. In the face of such a terrible prospect, it clearly becomes the duty of those who believe in liberty to revive the faith of 'democratic' peoples in liberal institutions and to keep them from joining the ranks of the reactionaries.

It is obvious, however, that it would not do to ask the people to accept the traditional institutions of democracy; for they have become fully convinced of the inefficacy of these institutions. The problem is to modify these institutions to suit existing conditions and then to demonstrate their intrinsic worth. But if we are to do this, we must be prepared drastically to revise the old conceptions of liberalism; we must remember that these conceptions were meant to apply primarily to the conditions of the nineteenth century and had nothing infallible about them. Democracy is essentially a philosophy of liberty, and the preservation of liberty should be our guiding motive in any reconstruction of democracy. But we must be careful to distinguish between genuine liberty and merely superficial liberty; allowing ourselves to be bound by the former but ruthlessly discarding the latter.

Keeping this qualification in view, let us see how democracy is to be enabled to regain the popular confidence and enthusiasm. We have already noticed that in the political sphere, the main defects of democracy are inefficient government and incapable governors. How can we raise the quality of government without prejudicing the cause of liberty? In general, democratic government is based upon three institutions—the electorate, the Parliament, and the Cabinet, and all

three contribute to the efficiency of the ultimate process of government. On the electorate devolves the all-important task of selecting the country's representatives—representatives from amongst whom the Ministry is selected. The nineteenth century liberals believed that the more extensive the franchise, the more effectively would public opinion be reflected in the Parliament. This belief was obviously based on the idea that all individuals took an active interest in large-scale politics and further that the political opinions of these individuals were evolved from personal reactions to the political atmosphere. The first premise is profoundly fallacious, while the second may be allowed some validity for the conditions of the nineteenth century. In our age, however, politics have become so utterly complex that the ordinary person, whose knowledge is severely circumscribed, cannot possibly form any rational opinion on the vast majority of questions with which he is called upon to deal. Moreover, the tremendously enhanced power of propaganda which influential individuals and parties have come to possess results in common people thoughtlessly echoing the opinions of these interested parties. Electoral contests, therefore, are decided not by the so-called general will but by the relative efficacy of party slogans. The liberty which people possess of recording their individual opinions through votes is largely nominal; it is one of the trappings of democracy and should be looked upon accordingly. The system of voting should be so modified as to confer real liberty upon the electorate. To this end, it is necessary to recognize the fact that the majority of people are not fitted by nature to interest themselves in national politics. To enfranchise such people merely encourages corrupt exploitation of the electorate by unscrupulous parties. Instead of continually widening the franchise, therefore, democracies should take steps to exclude the apathetic masses from the vote: a result which can be very effectively achieved by making it necessary for the vote to be applied for and by making the method of application so troublesome as to deter the uninterested. This would do a great deal to rationalize party propaganda. But to ensure the satisfactory discontinuance of cheap demagogy, it would be necessary to go a step further and limit the franchise to those who possessed a certain degree of education. Finally to prevent incapable persons from finding a place in Parliament, a sufficiently deep knowledge of economics and politics should be required of all candidates seeking election to the national

legislature. If this triple reform is carried out in present-day democracies, an unprecedented increase in governmental efficiency will be observed; though, of course, without reacting on liberty, for the electorate would be in a better position to consider the alternative political programmes and decide between them according to their judgment. To ensure a reasonable measure of liberty of judgment, however, a severe curtailment of propaganda would have to be effected. So long as the newspaper and the radio can mould public opinion according to their private choice, the liberty of the electorate is bound to remain purely illusive. True democracy demands that unscrupulous propaganda be ruthlessly suppressed.

Coming now to the sphere of actual administration, we have to remember that democracies find themselves in difficulty when dealing with political urgencies or with economic problems. In the first case, the cumbrous process of parliamentary discussion comes in the way of a rapid and effective decision. Ministers can take hardly any step without first securing the assent of Parliament and cannot follow a bold, consistent policy. If they ever act on their own initiative, they are accused of high-handedness and people begin to feel their liberties to be in danger. But it is well to remember that continual interference with a Minister's actions is not synonymous with liberty. Once a Minister has been selected, it is only fair that he should be given a chance to carry out his duties without being persistently heckled. Moreover, a reformed system of franchise and candidature should ensure the election of really capable Ministers who could be relied upon not to misuse their powers. Parliament, however, would retain its right to periodically examine the conduct of Ministers. This would keep Ministers within appropriate bounds while not unduly hampering their movements.

Modern democracies have failed tragically in the sphere of economic administration also. Till lately, it was not considered desirable even to attempt an interference with commercial and financial conditions; but, as we have already seen, circumstances have forced them to abandon this policy of indifference. Still, however, a lingering faith in *laissez-faire* prevents effective action and industry continues to function contrary to the interests of large masses of people. The working class has no security of employment and the disharmonies of private capitalism continue to involve millions in periodical misery. A system of regulated private enterprise is clearly indicated under the

circumstances and has long been advocated by the most distinguished economists. But before such regulation can be achieved, democratic administrators must recognize that *laissez-faire*, in conferring economic liberty upon one section of the people, withholds it from a much larger section. Since true democracy aims above all at an equitable distribution of liberty, *laissez-faire* as now practised should be rigorously eschewed. We should not hesitate to limit the freedom of the magnates of industry so that the masses may be provided with economic security; for economic security is the foundation stone on which all liberty rests.

The dictatorial states have, indeed, succeeded in tremendously enhancing the economic security of the working classes, without disseminating a proportionate degree of liberty. And this forcibly brings home to us the perversity of their methods. For although economic security is undoubtedly preferable to civil liberty, it has little value if entirely divorced from the latter. In fact bare economic security cannot for any length of time satisfy any but the lowest type of human being. The problem for democracies, therefore, is to manage the economic system in such a way as to ensure for everybody a reasonable amount of security coupled with a reasonable amount of liberty. Obviously, this cannot be done by the rigid planning practised in dictatorial countries. Some sort of planning, however, is necessary if the multiplicity of capricious and unregulated decisions of private capitalists is to be prevented from reacting disastrously on the nation as a whole.

Sir Arthur Salter, in his book "The Framework of an Ordered Society," has shown how the advantages of economic planning can be enjoyed without prejudicing the cause of liberty. He suggests that the various national industries, which are already approaching the stage of complete internal integration, should delegate representatives to a National Economic Board for the purpose of formulating, under the general supervision of Parliament, a comprehensive economic policy for the entire nation. After the policy has been finally arrived at, the Board would apply itself to the business of appropriately administering that policy. In this way, individual industrialists could be prevented from being guided entirely by the profit motive, and would have to adjust their movements so as to conform with the common good. At the same time, Parliament would no longer have to spend a valuable portion of its time in fixing the details of economic

policy—a task, moreover, for which it is not at all fitted. The essential virtue of the scheme, however, is that industry is directed to the public interest without depriving the industrialists of their liberty of action; for although they are not left entirely to their own devices, they unquestionably retain the essence of liberty, as truly conceived.

Some such reform as this is essential if democracy is to be rehabilitated in the estimation of modern peoples. If, further, it is coupled with the more purely political reforms indicated earlier, democracy may yet regain the vitality and the compelling attractiveness which it once possessed.

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

SUBALCHANDRA BISWAS, B.A.

The kaleidoscopic changes in European politics are seen times out of number. The international situation has been moving fast since the Munich Pact which is pregnant with grave consequences in the future. Germany is growing from strength to strength by ' Anschluss ' and by the cession of Czechoslovakia to the third Reich.

The present trend of British foreign policy is directed in such a way as to maintain the British empire against any possible menace in Europe, Africa and Asia. In England there are two groups of statesmen who are advocating two different courses of action in order to gain the same objective of maintaining the Brititish empire against the aggression of any hostile Power. One group of statesmen headed by Tories like Mr. Eden supported by some Liberals and Labourites intend to follow the course of Anglo-French-Russian understanding or alliance against German-Italian-Japanese group of Powers. Also they count the active support of the United States of America in order to wage an aggressive warfare against the Fascist Powers. Another group of British statesmen who are Tories of the type of Mr. Chamberlain, Sir samuel Hoare, Sir John Simon (a liberal Tory), Lord Halifax (the former Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin) and others are following the course of Anglo-French-Italian understanding. Their idea is to preserve the *mutual interest* in the Mediterranean, Africa and the Near East and thus check the increase of the Russian and the German influence in those regions. British diplomacy is to employ one enemy to destroy another enemy. There can be no gainsaying the fact that the present trend of British foreign policy is directed against Russia. It was proved when Russia was not invited to the Four-Power Conference. How far the exclusion of Russia outside the Anglo-French collaboration is judicious will be discussed later.

Mr. Chamberlain sacrificed the national cause by excluding Russia only for the interest of his party politics. He was subjected to criticism after the Munich Pact. He defended himself that Britain is not prepared for a major conflict in Europe. Is not the National Government responsible for the neglect of British defence? Who is responsible for the neglect of British re-armament for three years ? It is needless to say that Mr. Chamberlain is following a pro-Fascist policy. It can be proved from the history of the last five years when the National Government came into power. Britain would not have yielded to Germany during the Czecho-slovakian crisis had she been prepared for war.

Every student of history knows that Britain has assumed the status of a great Power since the " Glorious Revolution " of 1688. During this long period of two hundred and fifty years she has been playing an important rôle in world politics. The supremacy of the British naval power and Two-Power standard of her naval strength enabled her in the past to maintain a *status quo* in the political situation of the world. Britain's naval superiority to other great nations enabled her to establish a far-flung empire. But now her naval superiority has been challenged due to the different perspective of the international political situations of the

world. The emergence of Japan in the Far East and the United States of America in the Far West as great naval Powers has changed the entire situation. These two great Powers are far beyond the cordon of the British navy.

From 1688 to 1918 Britain controlled the narrow seas round Europe, namely, the Mediterranean, the Channel, the North Sea and the Baltic. Even the enemies' fleets were bottled up at their home waters. But now they can no longer be controlled by naval power only due to the development of aerial warfare.

After the last World War the resurgent Germany and Italy as Great military Powers has changed the entire political situation in Europe. The totalitarian states have combined themselves together and the peace of the world is imperilled by the menace of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo triangle.

Mr. Chamberlain's overtures to Germany and Italy will be of no avail for Dictators' appetite for earth hunger could never be appeased. 1939 is not 1914. The hostility of either or both Japan and America would paralyse historic British strategy, for it would make it impossible for Britain to bring the whole pressure to bear upon her European enemy. In case of a major conflict the British navy will split up in three places, namely, in the North Sea, the Mediterranean and the Far East. "Dominion Nationalism" which has shattered the unity of the Commonwealth's foreign policy is one of the factors of the weakness of Britain which has lost too many strategic positions due to the Spanish civil war.

I have drawn the political miniature of the world in a small canvass. The colossal Russian Power whose help is essential for the welfare of the British empire is also threatened by the Jap-German alliance. A bold stand should be taken by Britain, France, Russia and America and they may crush the totalitarian states which have signed the Anti-Comintern Pact against democracy. Also freedom should be given to India by Britain, for a powerful India would be an asset to Britain, in her crisis.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Study of Hindustani

It is understood that a proposal for the compulsory study of one of the modern Indian languages, preferably basic Hindustani, by pupils of the Anglo-Indian and European schools was among the subjects considered at the meeting of the Madras Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education held at the Secretariat. The Hon. Mr. C. J. Varkey, Minister for Education, presided. No decision was taken but it appears that certain practical difficulties in fitting in this subject in the curriculum were discussed.

It was finally recommended that the matter should be referred to the Committee which some time ago considered questions relating to Anglo-Indian and European education.

Cultural Academy

A scheme for establishing on the Malabar Coast an academy, which will combine the ideals of the Indian *ashram* and those of the modern college, for a comparative study of sociological and psychological problems is being worked out by Dr. G. H. Mees, a sociologist and educationist of Holland, who is now at Mysore.

Dr. Mees is well known in India through his extensive tours, his lectures and his books *Dharma and Society* and the *Human Family and India*.

The main object of this academy, according to Dr. Mees, will be cultural reconstruction on a practical basis and training of leaders for such work in the country. Though some rural reconstruction work in the neighbourhood of the *ashram* will be undertaken, the academy will not be a centre or school for rural reconstruction, but has wider and deeper aims. Study will be pursued mainly along two lines, first, sociology—chiefly problems of civilization, and secondly, psychology—mostly problems of culture, religion, etc.

Sanskrit and modern European languages will also be taught.

University for Assam

It is understood that a Bill relating to the establishment of a University for Assam has been drafted and is ready to be placed before the Assembly.

Indian Museums

With a view to increasing the educative value of Indian Museums and public interest therein, and in pursuance of a resolution passed to this effect

at the Museums Conference held at Delhi in December, 1937, the Archaeological section of the Indian Museum have undertaken the scheme of publishing a series of guides to the exhibits in the Museum. Two volumes of this series have already been published. They cover the early school and the Greeco-Buddhist schools of Gandhara. Other two, one concerning the later Indian schools of sculpture, such as those of Mathura, Amaravati and Gupta, and the other describing the metal images at the Museum, from the earliest to the modern times, will soon be published. A guide to the pre-historic collections of the Museum will be taken up when work on the two volumes have been completed. The guide books, arranged in a systematic order and profusely illustrated, will enable their readers to secure first-hand knowledge and information regarding the collections in the archaeological section of the Museum. The first two parts of the guide were prepared by the late Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, former Superintendent of the Archaeological section, while the other two are being prepared by Mr. T. N. Ramchandran, the present Superintendent of Archaeology, Indian Museum.

The Archaeological section have also undertaken a scheme of printing picture post-cards, illustrating the most important phases of the Indian archaeology. The cards will have a photograph of an exhibit on one side of them, together with a short description. This scheme, it is expected, will have sufficient educative and instructive value, for which purpose it is being worked out.

Vidya Mandir Scheme

All the teachers recently trained in the Vidya Mandir Scheme of education have been provided with appointments, according to a statement made to the " Associated Press " by the Vidya Mandir Organising Officer, Wardha. He says that one hundred such teachers have been absorbed in the newly established Vidya Mandirs in the C. P. and Berar, nine have been retained on the Vidya Mandir staff in Wardha, while 44 have been posted in the Wardha District Schools where they form a compact block for the purpose of experimenting on the basic education scheme.

About sixty buildings for these schools are nearing completion. In Wardha tahsil, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj has made a gift of a valuable piece of land for the construction of buildings for a new school.

Miscellany

ITALIAN RAILWAYS

Italy today possesses about 23,000 km. of railway lines, of which the chief network, consisting of 17,000 km., is worked by the State (one Km. = $\frac{5}{8}$ mile). The railway system has introduced many improvements during recent years.

With regard to the rolling stock, the old steam engines have been for the most part substituted by new and much more efficient types. Besides, there are electric locomotives and gasolene engines, in pursuance of the development of the new traction system. The passenger coaches have also nearly all been replaced by much more elegant and comfortable types ; the majority being constructed in metal, which provides greater safety in case of accidents. The goods trains have been considerably increased by specially constructed trucks destined for the transport of perishable merchandise, which is of the utmost importance in the internal economy of the country. All the rolling stock acquired recently has, be it observed, been constructed by Italian firms.

As regards the railway tracks, besides a doubling of many lines and a strengthening of many of those already in existence, new trunk lines of considerable importance have been created, and among these special mention must be made of the two direct lines between Rome and Naples and Bologna and Florence. These two lines have contributed to a more rapid and efficient communication between the North and the South of Italy. In addition to the improvement in the lines, provision has been made for the renovation of numerous railway stations, by rendering them more decorative, and furnishing them with commodious spaces embellished by gardens, and spacious waiting rooms and entrance halls decorated in an artistic manner.

The new exigencies of modern life, which continually require more rapid and frequent communication, and the competition carried on by road and air transport, have in these last few years, compelled all the railways to search for a system more adapted to this aim. For the Italian State Railways, the solution has been in the development of electric traction and in the adoption of gasolene motors, according to a general plan that has come to be adopted.

The lines of the country are divided into two big categories. The first includes nearly all the main lines, of a total length of about 9,000 km., all of which are going to be electrified. In the second category are included the other lines of a total length of about 8,000 km., on which for the most part trains will run by means of gasolene engines.

The system of electric traction which is of special importance for Italy, considering the fact that up till now she has depended to a very great extent on coal imported from abroad, has been adopted on the State Railway since 1901. Today it has already extended to 4,000 km. of the most important lines, and there is another 1,100 km. in course of electrification, which will be completed during the year 1939. So there will then be a total network of electrified lines amounting to 5,100 km., which requires only a consumption of a million and a half tons of coal. This is

half the amount that was consumed when the entire system was worked by steam.

The lines comprised in the second category mostly serve local passenger services, and, therefore, lend themselves to light traffic. For this, the gasolene motors of the " Littorina " type are particularly adapted and are capable of augmenting the speed and frequency of the trains, thus offering to the public immense advantages, sometimes even excelling those offered by automobile road transport.

Besides employing special types of auto-motors, that are used for restaurant service on the long distance trains, express trains composed of three communicating carriages with a resturant service have been initiated on the Bologna-Naples line, and these run for the entire distance of 629 km. at the speed of 104 km. per hour.

These innovations on the Italian railway system are coupled with improvement in punctuality as well as cleanliness and comfort to the trains.

As Italy is like Egypt one of the most tourist-ridden countries of the world, all these improvements and modernizations have served to raise the reputation of Italian railway administration among foreigners.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL IN FRANCE

To the historian of economic ideas and development, the creation of the *Conseil national économique* will appear to be one of the most characteristic evidences of the economic and social evolution in the twentieth century. It is a post-War creation and one that reveals a novel state of mind. Among its founders is to be reckoned, by the side of the representatives of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, a pure scientist, Prof. Charles Gide, the most independent and humane of French economists.

During 1938 (six months) the Council conducted minute enquiries into the national economic problems either at the request of Government or on its own initiative. Among those problems we may mention the deficit in the balance of trade, agricultural output, and the supply of credit. It prosecuted concurrently the investigations undertaken last year: the problem of labour and unemployment, including a thorough study of the professional training of labour in industry, trade and navigation.

The organisation of labour, the relations between employers and wage-earners have claimed special attention ; an attempt has been and is being made to perfect the processes of conciliation and arbitration, while applications for the extension of " collective conventions " have been carefully taken into consideration. In so doing no effort has been spared to bring about an agreement between the representatives of employers and workers as to the amendments that might be introduced in the ways and means of applying the law on the 40-hour week.

In February 1938, M. Georges Bonnet instructed the *Conseil National Economique* to carry on a rapid survey of the problems raised by the deficit in the balance of trade in so far as agricultural output is concerned. An initial committee, made up solely of representatives of agriculture, was entrusted with the duty of hearing the suggestions of the farmers and to draw up, jointly with the leading agricultural bodies, a comprehensive synopsis of concrete proposals. Then a second committee was set up,

comprising, besides the representatives of the farmers, those of trade and industry, of the Colonies and of the consumers, for the purpose of comparing the proposals of the farmers' representatives with those of the other forms of activity. The object was to evolve such solutions as might best suit the general interests of the country—a task of collation and conciliation which is the very justification of National Economic Council's existence.

The representatives of the farmers dwelt on the fact that while the greater part of the profits, in the balance of trade, come under three main headings—textiles, motor-fuel and oil products—it would be a mistake to overlook one of the outstanding causes of the agricultural depression and the comparative desertion of the countryside, *viz.*, the growing neglect of a number of products erroneously held to be of secondary importance, though perhaps of great value, really, both from a social and from an economic point of view.

The Committee were led, moreover, to consider the situation of French agricultural prices as compared with world prices.

At the moment, the general statement summing up the views of the representatives of the farmers serves as basis for the task of collation performed by the Committee and the five Sub-Committees they have appointed.

The Committee of supply have enquired into the threefold problem of credits for the farmers, the financing of State deals, and medium term credits. In order to promote the granting of loans to the farmers, it is necessary in the first place to limit mutual loans to farmers, while defining accurately such operations as can be financed by those loans. The strict discrimination between those operations must depend, moreover, upon the length of the term. The protection of the peasants' savings would be strengthened, were the Farmers' Loan Funds, without having recourse to advances from the State, to form regional and subsequently nation-wide groups and build up among themselves a depositors' insurance fund. A dual system of control is being thought out, applicable to both classes of funds: on the one hand, a very strict control, both of a technical and an administrative character, is to be exercised over such Farmers' Loan Funds as may apply to the State for financial assistance; on the other hand, due protection of the savings of the rural population as well as the granting of a special fiscal statute both justify the setting up of State control over such Funds as do not apply for financial assistance. This credit machinery requires the financial education of the rural communities.

The financing of State deals is dealt with in a Report by M. Devillez, auditor at the *Cour des Comptes*, who points out the administrative difficulties in the way and suggests a number of appropriate measures for their removal. It has been found necessary to introduce, into the deals of the several public Departments, common provisions of a nature to lighten the difficulties of both contractors and purveyors, without whittling down the guarantees protecting the rights of the State. The provisions contemplated relate *inter alia* to the system of surety-bonds, discounts and payments, and the generalizations of the process of order letters.

In these conclusions, be it noted, is to be found the inspiration of the decree-law of May 2, 1938, relating to credit, as regards the special provisions dealing with the regulation and financing of administrative deals. Such provisions, it is stated in the preamble to the decree, are intended to remove the difficulties "recently voiced by the *Conseil National Economique* and met with in the implementing of these deals."

The Credit Committee, likewise at the behest of the Central Committee on medium term credit, enquired into the main difficulties now standing in the way of the extension of such medium term credit in France.

The 40-hour week has been the subject of a number of draft decrees taken into consideration by the National Economic Council, notably as regards the extension to Algeria of legislation already in operation in France, the recuperation of the hours lost in consequence of collective unemployment and the extension of working hours in the event of an extraordinary increase of extra work.

Finally, the relations between employers and wage-earners and the extension of "collective bargaining" have been dealt with in a number of highly interesting studies and reports. The Council's suggestions have been often adopted by employers and wage-earners and are embodied in the Decree Laws of May 2, 1938, as regards the extension of collective bargaining.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

FRENCH PLANNING IN PUBLIC WORKS

During the last few months the Government of France has endeavoured to ascertain the real needs of the country: technicians have been appointed to study them carefully as well as the most practical means of meeting them. This procedure has led to the drafting of a scheme of rural and urban public works dealing more particularly with such as are capable of being speedily carried out.

Decree Laws issued on May 2, 1938, deal precisely with that scheme; the cost of the works capable of being speedily carried out is estimated at 11 milliards of francs. It is proposed that the State shall find rather more than half this amount—6 milliards—while the public bodies are to raise and supply the balance—5 milliards.

The financial contribution of the State is to be spread over three years 1938, 1939, 1940, and provision is made for the carrying over from one year to the next any unutilised credits remaining over at the end of the financial year. The annual amount of such credits is to be about 1,136 million francs for 1938, 1,998 millions for 1939, and 1,934 millions for 1940. Finally, 773 millions have been allowed for 1941, and 1,595 millions for 1942.

Those 6 milliards are appropriated to public works appertaining to different Ministries:

Ministry of Public Health 1,400 millions—including 800 for the building of cheap tenements, 400 for slum clearances, 100 for works of hygiene, hospitals, etc.

Ministry of National Education 1,150 millions—including 139 for the Fine Art Department, the balance for school building, etc.

Ministry of Public Works 1,150 millions—including about 560 for the road system, 190 for the seaports, 159 for river improvements, etc.

Ministry of Agriculture 1,000 millions—including 735 for rural equipment, 150 for the improvement of country dwellings, 65 for forestry works, re-timbering of land, pasture, etc.

Ministry of Interior 525 millions (for the road system), 290 millions and 200 (for departmental and communal utility works).

Colonial Ministry 275 millions.

Air Ministry 198 millons for civil aviation.

Postal Ministry 147 millions.

Apart from the above, 100 millions have been appropriated for North Africa, including 40 millions for Public Works and the improvement of the standard of life of the French Algerians, and 23 millions for works of unemployment relief for the indigenous inhabitants in Morocco and Tunisia.

In order to promote the contribution of the local public bodies to the financing of these works, steps have been taken to expand the credit provided for them by official or specialised institutions, such as the *Caisse de credit aux departements et aux communes, Credit Foncier, Caisse des Depôts et Consignations*, as well as to facilitate the loans extended by those bodies in the areas in which the works themselves are being carried out.

The *Caisse de Credit* has been instructed to draw up permanent lists of such applications for loans as present the required guarantees, applications made by the public bodies desiring loans, etc. It has been laid down that 50% of the monies raised shall, with the full assent of *Caisses d'assurances sociales*, be appropriated to the *Credit departemental et communal*, as from January 1, 1941, at which date will cease to operate the common labour fund fed by the capitalization of the monies accruing from social insurance and hitherto serving to ensure the functioning of the *Caisse de Credit*. One-half of these investments will be financed direct by the *Caisse de Credit* and the balance appropriated by the *Caisses d'assurances sociales*, subject to the approval of the *Caisse de Credit*, to loans to the departments and communes.

The Government have agreed upon special measures, concerning such works of hydro-electric equipment as may be carried by private enterprise: annuities will be allotted to concessionary concerns for hydraulic power with a view to lightening the initial expenses for such new plants as they may set up. To these annuities the Ministry of Public Works has been empowered to appropriate a credit of 10,000,000 francs. Exemption from taxation has been granted on the scrip of concerns engaged in a public service for the production, transport or distribution of water, gas and electricity. With the concurrence of the public authorities a company has been set up comprising as shareholders almost the whole of the concerns for the production, transport and distribution of electric power in every part of France. Its object is to promote the financing of a scheme of major electrical works without the assistance of the State or of the public bodies. Be it noted that this initiative had been preceded by an offer made by the French heavy industries to supply the main electrical equipment to the amount of about 3 milliards of francs.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

GROSS AND NET REPRODUCTION RATES IN ENGLAND

The most important feature of the Population (Statistics) Act. recently passed by Parliament, says Mr. R. F. Harrod in a paper on "Population Trends and Problems" in the *Lloyds Bank Ltd. Monthly Review* (January, 1939), is that it requires the Registrar-General to record the age of mothers at child-birth. This will enable a precise calculation of reproduction rates to be made. There is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of Mr. Kuczynski's figures; but if the population crisis gives rise to measures entailing sacrifices on some part of the community, the public might be discontented if they were told that the figures used to justify such measures were partly based on an analogy with foreign countries.

The use of these measures affords a glimpse into the future. It is sometimes supposed that those who give warnings of a declining population assume that the recent tendency for the size of the family to decline will go further. This is not so. The real point is that *if the size of the family is not enlarged*, the population will undergo a considerable and continual decline.

It may be well to scrutinise the assumptions with regard to births and deaths on which prognostications depend, and to consider deaths first.

Some optimists hope that our population may be saved by a decline in mortality. But the impossibility of this may, unfortunately, be affirmed with complete certainty. It will be remembered that the gross reproduction rate eliminates, and is, therefore, independent of, the incidence of deaths. Mr. Kuczynski has computed the gross reproduction rate as 0·84 for England and Wales in 1933, 0·86 in 1934 and 1935, and 0·87 in 1936. The gross reproduction rate shows the replacement of population on the supposition that no deaths occur from the moment of birth until the end of the child-bearing period. These rates show that even if all these deaths could be eliminated the population would still, with the present size of family, decline at the rate of about 15 per cent. per generation for ever. The situation will not be helped by an increase of longevity after the child-bearing period. A spectacular improvement of this sort might lead to some temporary increase in the population, that increase taking entirely the form of more old people, but they must die some day, and the rate of decline in the numbers of younger people would be steadily maintained.

The comparative unimportance of the death-rate in the modern age is shown by the closeness of the two reproduction rates, net and gross (0·76 and 0·86). In 1870-72 the net and gross rates for England and Wales were 1·51 and 2·34. The reduction in the gap between these rates indicates the improvement in infant mortality. One may say approximately that while the number of children born to the average woman has fallen to one-third of the old number, the number of surviving children has fallen only to about one-half. The rates (net and gross) given by Mr. Kuczynski for Japan in 1930 are 1·32 and 2·32—strangely reminiscent of mid-Victorian England.

If there is a considerable gap between the two rates, a country may reasonably hope that a substantial decline in mortality will bring about a large improvement in its population prospects. Western and Northern Europe, the United States and the Dominions are no longer able to rely upon that hope, for the gap has already been closed.

In holding that an improvement in social conditions would bring about an increase of population, the old economists did not sufficiently distinguish between the effect of such an improvement on the death-rate and on the birth-rate. If child mortality is high and there is, therefore, a big gap between gross and net reproduction rates, an improvement in conditions may be expected to increase population by substantially increasing the net reproduction rate. This was actually happening in the time of these economists, and was entirely responsible for the acceleration of the population increase in England in the nineteenth century. To this extent the economists were right.

But we now know that they were wrong in supposing that the improvements in social conditions stimulated births. There was in fact no substantial increase in births per head at the end of the eighteenth or

during the nineteenth century in England. The effect on population ascribed to improving conditions did not operate through the birth-rate, and there is no evidence that it ever does.

Thus the "law of population," which was supposed to operate both through deaths and births, in fact operates through the former only. And it will do so if child mortality is fairly high. This indicates precisely the limits to the validity of the doctrine. The Malthusian view that greater prosperity stimulates population was true of England in the age of which he wrote, and is still true of backward parts of the world. For other parts of the world it is now invalid.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE FINANCIAL THEORY OF GERMAN ECONOMIC RECOVERY

National Socialism has never acted according to a preconceived theoretical economic programme, said Dr. H. Schacht, President of the Reichsbank in November, 1938, at a public meeting of the *Deutsche Akademie* (Munich). As I had entered into personal contact with the leaders of National Socialism since the end of 1930, I have been a witness of how the Führer has repeatedly rejected the numerous attempts to draw up a detailed National Socialist Economic Programme, and has stood by general philosophical basis of the Party Programme. In 1933, therefore, economic action immediately took the place of economic declamation. The ideas of "financing consumption" which at first attracted much attention and had in mind the indiscriminate distribution of money by the State were all swept aside. In this way the mistakes were avoided which we have seen in the present policy of the United States of America and France, and which show how closely related are deflation crises and inflation crises. Instead of this all State aid was from the beginning applied to increasing production, first, in what was known as a programme of work-creation by granting credits for reconditioning, repairs, etc., and after that through the great and ever-increasing defence programme. The size of this programme and of the construction of the motorways which had been begun soon showed that these two undertakings alone would bring back into the market all unused labour, so that other measures for creating work very soon became superfluous.

This whole programme of work-creation and rearmament could of course only be set in motion by the State and only with the help of large financial backing. There was no available capital for this financing. Help had rather to be sought by creating money. The classical theory of national economy allows the creation of money only when the goods in circulation in the economic system have already increased, and on the other hand forbids any financing of production and above all a sudden expansion of credit. This theory only applies in the free, uncontrolled economy which served as a source of knowledge for the classical national economists. In such an uncontrolled economy a heavy increase of money must lead to rising prices and wages and so to tensions which ultimately result in an economic crisis.

With National Socialism, however, came State-controlled economy in its widest scope, becoming more intensified with time, which made it possible to avoid rises in prices and wages. Thus one of the chief objections to financing production by credit was overcome. Credit was used to produce

a greater amount of goods, and there now only remained the task of setting the limit to the amount to which the creation of money could go. For creation of money by the State always carries with it the danger of excess, which leads to inflationist tendencies. It was not only a question of seeing that the newly created money was covered by newly created goods, but also of discerning the kind of goods these should be.

Reduced to a simple formula, the problem may be stated as follows. The credit money supplied for purposes of rearmament produces through payment of wages and salaries a demand for consumers' goods. Armaments-manufacturers, however, supply military goods, which, though produced, are not consumed. This has two consequences: In the first place, care must be taken that besides the manufacture of armaments a quantity of consumers' goods should be produced that is adequate for the existence of the population, including all those occupied in the armaments industry; and secondly, the less the amount consumed, the more the labour that can be used for rearmament, but on the other hand, the higher the consumption rises, the greater the labour that must be applied to the production of consumers' goods. The standard of living and the extent of rearmament stand, therefore, in inverse ratio to each other. The less I consume, the more I save, and the more I save, the more I can put into defence. This means that rearmament cannot ultimately be financed by creating money, but only by a policy of saving.

When the Führer called me back to the head of the Reichsbank to assist in the financing of work-creation schemes and defence, I was quite clear about these facts, since I had learnt during many years of economic work to distinguish between money as a medium of exchange and capital savings, which are the means of production. It was equally clear to me, however, that I had first to build a bridge to this normal method of financing by means of savings, for our income from taxation had sunk to a minimum, and our capital market was empty. I could do nothing to alter this state of affairs as long as trade remained at such a low ebb. Consequently the only correct way was for the Bank of Issue first to supply the necessary credits for the creation of work and rearmament, and to keep doing so until industry again showed profits that allowed of extensive saving and consolidation. Only then could—and indeed must—the transition of financing by taxation and loans be effected. The Reichsbank was also quite clear on the point that although it can start the forces of industrial recovery, it cannot control them alone without the State. It undertook nevertheless the risk of an expansion of credit, fixed beforehand at millards of marks, because it was certain of finding the full support of the whole State-machine in its main duty of protecting the currency.

The numerous measures subsequently taken in close co-operation with all the competent authorities were all intended to control the course of credit-expansion, to prevent a discrepancy between the amount of money and the amount of goods, and to invest surplus money in defence loans. These measures fall into two groups according to their application. The first group is purely in the nature of a credit and finance policy. To this belong the finance policy as a whole, reduction of the rate of interest, legislation relating to loan-stock, supervision of the bank, the permanent "skimming" of the money-market by the bills of the gold-discount bank, and, most important of all, control over the note issue. I emphasise particularly this last much-discussed measure because for a long time to come the defence of the currency and the maintenance of the level of interest will make it indispensable to concentrate the means accumulating on the capital market

to a very great extent on the financing of rearmament and the Four Year Plan.

The second group of measures on which the Reichsbank had to concentrate comprises the direct influence on prices and wages assigned to the Reich Commissioner for Price Control and to the Labour Trustees. It is their duty to intercept immediately any pressure that may still be felt, in spite of the policy of credit and finance control, and thus to protect our currency from the reciprocal rise of prices and wages which is rightly considered the sign of inflation. It follows quite naturally from the importance of this that control of prices and wages must be maintained and, if need be, strengthened until an adequate consolidation of short-term defence credits from the capital market has been effected.

The interaction of all the measures has so far achieved the maintenance of the German currency. The spring of 1938 is an important stage in our finance policy, because with it German economy had reached full employment. But as soon as a national economy has put into use the last available labour and all available materials, any further expansion of credit is not only senseless but harmful. For then fresh money can no longer start the production of fresh goods, but only create competition for existing labour and raw materials. And such a competition must, in spite of all State measures and supervision, drive up prices and wages. Now the conception of full capacity is, of course, elastic. Such a large national economy as the German will always be able to mobilise certain reserves of labour and achieve certain results by rationalization. But there was no longer room for an expansion of credit in the old style, and from this the responsible authorities have drawn their conclusions. On April 1, 1938, the creation of credit by the issuing bank was stopped and the financing of State orders assigned solely to the method of taxation and loans. The transition was effected by means of treasury-bills.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Life and Teachings of Buddha, by Devamitta Dharmapala. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Price As. 12.

This is a booklet dwelling on a few aspects of the Life and Teachings of Buddha, by the late Rev. Anagarika Dharmapala who as a Buddhist monk took the name of Devamitta. The writings of this premier Buddhist worker in India require no introduction for their acceptance by the public. Though it has not been possible within the limited scope of the work to bring forth all the salient features of the vast subject dealt with therein, the author has undoubtedly made clear in bold and unambiguous language ome of Buddha's most intricate phases of life and teachings which have been all taken from original Pali with references to the relevent texts. The manner of his exposition of Buddha's 'Dharma' is superb and is in perfect agreement with the orthodox Theravada views, of which he was the champion.

The book, however, would have been more attractive and appealing had there been no reflections cast at other religions by way of contrast which have been due to the enthusism of a missionary rather than to the skill of a dispassionate scholar and the quotations in original Pali would have looked more dignified with their proper diacritical marks in Roman character.

The extracts from the Dhammapada, the speech of Swami Vivekananda relating to the life of Buddha and the views of Mahatma Gandhi on Buddha as appended to the work by the publishers, have greatly enhanced its value and embellished its original outlook which we doubt not will commend itself highly not only to devout Buddhists but to all who desire to have a first hand knowledge of Buddha and Buddhism from the orthodox standpoint in a short compass.

G. D. D.

Thro' Eastern Eyes, by Nand Qomar. Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bo

It is "a modern poetic survey of some aspects of the world to-day depicting the thoughts and ideas of an eastern observer." The author has attempted a blend of Indian mysticism and "hyper-modern" verse.

The poet has been appalled at the destructiveness of the impending world war, and he has tried to visualise it and describe it both in words and in colours. Man has to face his complete annihilation; peace and brotherhood seem to be empty cries; but through Eastern eyes there appears a ray of hope, and though the Chinese villages are being bombed, and Shanghai, the emblem of peace between East and West, is destroyed, we will smile all the way down the dusky road of strife, for a smile can do wonders when all other resources fail and life seems a dreary journey deserted by all that savours of grace. This insistence on rallying the inner forces is in keeping with the claim put forward by the author that Indian mysticism voices its time-honoured note through his utterances. Some of

the poems are in exact tune with the aim and purpose for which they set out, and the sonnets, without pretensions, echo the grave thoughts which the times prompt in us; and the eleven studies in coloured representations greatly set off the lines. Altogether an enjoyable book.

P. R. SEN.

The Science of the Self, by Bhagavan Das, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Ben. and All.). The Indian Book Shop, Benares. Price Re. 1-8.

The author is to be congratulated on his illuminating presentation of Vedanta-Yoga not merely as a Metaphysic of the self but also in its concrete application to the ordering of human life in both its individual and social aspects. Starting from the Vedantic conception of the Absolute as the self which is also the imaginative position as well as negation of itself as a this I or object-self, the author works out this basic Vedantic conception with extraordinary skill into a physical theory and psychology that provide a *rationale* for the dual aspect of the self as the self-unfolding, self-concretising, self-objectifying reality in experience and as the de-materialising de-individualising, self-withdrawing Absolute as the negation of all forms of empirical objectivity. Both these aspects are illustrated in great detail in the phenomena of the material world, in living beings and in minds, and the reader who goes through the work will be struck by the erudition which the author displays in his treatment as also by the architectonic skill and masterly grasp with which he handles a bewildering mass of scientific facts and theories. What is particularly noteworthy in this connection is the author's criticism of the psycho-analytical school in psychology and of communism and socialism in political theory, the merits as well as the weaknesses whereof are noted with great accuracy and penetration. It will be no exaggeration to say that the work is unique in a way expounding as it, does, not merely an anatomy of the Vedantic metaphysic but also Vedanta in practice, *i.e.*, Vedantic principles in their concrete operation in the physical, the hyper-physical and the psychic strata of the Universe. In this respect the work will compare favourably with Hegel's writings, though illustative of a fundamentally different conception of the self. The author's observations on the essentials of social organisation, on the requirements of sound leadership and on the safeguards against usurpation of powers are also suggestive and instructive and deserve serious consideration by workers in the social and political fields.

S. K. MAITRA.

Ourselves

[I. The Fifteenth Death Anniversary of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.—II. The General Medical Council on the Retrospective Recognition of Medical Degrees —III. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis's Scheme of Statistical Studies.—IV. Dr. W. S. Urquhart.—V. University Representative on the Industrial Research Council.—VI. A New Prize in Bengali.—VII. A New D.Sc.—VIII. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Prize in Zoology and Botany for 1938.—IX. Dr. H. K. Mookerjee to Serve on Fish Committee.—X. The Haraganga College, Munshiganj.—XI. The Sir Asutosh College, Kanungopara, Chittagong.—XII. The Victoria Institution, Calcutta.—XIII. The Comilla Victoria College.—XIV. The Lady Brabourne College (for Girls), Calcutta.]

I. The Fifteenth Death Anniversary of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

The fifteenth death anniversary of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was commemorated in Calcutta on the 25th May last.

A meeting was held in the morning at the foot of Sir Asutosh's statue in the Chowringhee Square. Sir M. N. Mukherji who presided spoke of the principal achievements of Sir Asutosh. He said that Sir Asutosh had turned the University of Calcutta into a veritable Nalanda of Bengal, and that he had given a high status to the Bengali language, which has now become a medium of instruction for the Matriculation Examination. By this work of Sir Asutosh, said Sir Manmatha, the Bengali language has received wide recognition all over the world, and love of Bengal has been instilled into the hearts of the Bengalees who have learned to look upon their country and its language with pride. Sir Manmatha referred to the critical times through which the country was passing and said that had Sir Asutosh been still alive, the vexed questions in the fields of education, politics, and religion would have met with a satisfactory solution. He urged his countrymen to emulate in their life and thought the example of Sir Asutosh.

A hymn in praise of Sir Asutosh written in Sanskrit by Pandit Asoknath Sastri was chanted. The girl students of the Asutosh College sang songs in chorus.

Another meeting was held in the afternoon at the Darbhanga Building, presided over by our Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Aziz-ul Huque.

The Vice-Chancellor recalled the chief events in the life of Sir Asutosh and observed that no outside pressure swerved him from the

course which he chose to follow; he never hesitated to face the consequences of his vision or to stand against public fury if he thought himself to be in the right. Lord Minto had invited Sir Asutosh to become the Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1906 and from that time until the end of his life, he served the University and the cause of education and, although for a time he ceased to be the Vice-Chancellor, he still directed the policy of the University and even settled the details. He took a bold stand against the Non-Co-operation Movement and showed that public passions, even when raging fiercely, could not intimidate him or unsettle his convictions.

A full appraisement of the great services of Sir Asutosh, continued the Vice-Chancellor, must wait for the future, for we are still living in his shadow. He said: "We are still too near the scene to judge him in a dispassionate manner, which is very much necessary for a true historical perspective; but whatever might be the future of the province, whatever might be the future developments of the University of Calcutta or of its educational institutions, Sir Asutosh's name will go down to posterity as of the one single man who made the University of Calcutta what it is now and will possibly be for many years to come." He referred to the tribute paid to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee by Lord Lytton who, when presiding over the condolence meeting of the Senate, spoke of this great man as one "who in the eyes of the world represented the University so completely that for many years Sir Asutosh was in fact the University and the University Sir Asutosh."

The Vice-Chancellor spoke of some of his reminiscences when, twenty-two years ago, he sat on the benches of the University Law College as a student, attending the lectures of Sir Asutosh in the Moot Court classes. He still marvelled at the brilliant exposition of the Law of Mortgage which Sir Asutosh offered in his ringing voice and in a simple, clear and lucid language. The Vice-Chancellor mentioned in passing how, while he was a student in the Post-Graduate Department, it once seemed to him that his association with politics which began at the time would force him to give up his studies, and how, when he brought the matter to the notice of Sir Asutosh, he was encouraged with his usual sympathy for students, with the result that the difficulty which had caused him so much worry never occurred again.

Concluding, the Vice-Chancellor said that the University would expand and grow according to the dream of the late Sir Asutosh by moving along the lines indicated by this great man, whom he characterised as a devoted and ardent nationalist and a patriot in the true sense of the term—a world-renowned jurist and an educationist of the highest order, and above all, a typical Bengalee

After the Vice-Chancellor's address, there was a *kirtan* performance.

* * *

II. The General Medical Council on the Retrospective Recognition of Medical Degrees

The Executive Committee of the General Medical Council considered a letter from the Registrar, Calcutta University, on the subject of the retrospective recognition of the Calcutta M.B. degree by the General Medical Council at its meeting held on 4th April last. It was decided that the President should be requested to visit the Medical colleges in Calcutta and that all discussion of the subject be kept in abeyance until the next meeting of the Committee.

Our University has invited the President of the Executive Commitee of the General Medical Council in India to visit the Medical colleges in Calcutta and acquaint himself with their working for the purpose of preparing his note on the question of retrospective recognition of the M.B. degree of this University.

* * *

III. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis's Scheme of Statistical Studies

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has sanctioned an extension of statistical studies for a period of three years with effect from the 1st July, 1939, at a total cost not exceeding Rs. 43,224.

As part of this scheme of extension two posts of statisticians on the grade of Rs. 200-25-500 have been created, one of which will be filled up by Mr. R. C. Bose and the other by recruitment through the Federal Public Service Commission. The University will appoint an Assistant Statistician and fill up other posts provided for in the extension scheme in consultation with Professor P. C. Mahalanobis.

* * *

IV. Dr. W. S. Urquhart

Dr. W. S. Urquhart, a former Vice-Chancellor of this University who also worked as a lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of Philosophy until his departure from this country two years ago, has returned a draft for £7-8-11, being his remuneration for examining a Ph.D. thesis and has suggested in a letter that the money be utilised towards payment of fees during the next session of meritorious students of the Philosophy Department, studying Philosophy of Religion as one of their subjects.

The University has conveyed its thanks to Dr. Urquhart and has made arrangements to give effect to his proposal.

* * *

V. University Representative on the Industrial Research Council

Professor P. N. Ghosh who is a member of the newly constituted Bengal Industrial Research Board has been invited by the Director of Industries, Bengal, to accompany him to the next session of the Industrial Research Council to be held in August this year. The University has conveyed to the Director its approval of the invitation made to Professor Ghosh.

* * *

VI. A New Prize in Bengali

Mr. Harihar Banerjee has offered to place the sum of Rs. 1,000 at the disposal of the University, stipulating that the annual interest thereon may be used in awarding a prize to the successful Hindu candidate who secures the highest number of marks in Bengali as compulsory language at the Matriculation Examination provided he prosecutes further studies in an affiliated college.

This prize will be named after late Haribhusan Ray, son of the late Kabiraj Jaminibhusan Ray.

The offer has been accepted with thanks.

* * *

VII. A New D.Sc.

Mr. Jatindranath Bhar, M.SC., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science of this University on the strength of a thesis entitled "Studies of the Ionosphere in Calcutta."

The thesis was examined by Prof. E. V. Appleton, M.A., D.SC., F.R.S., Prof. S. Chapman, M.A., D.SC., F.R.S., and Prof. M. N. Saha, D.SC., F.R.S., who recommended the work for the award of a Doctorate.

We offer our congratulations to Dr. Bhar on his success.

* * *

VIII. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Prize in Zoology and Botany for 1938

The 2nd July, 1939, has been fixed as the last date for submission of theses for the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Prize in Zoology and Botany for the year 1938.

* * *

IX. Dr. H. K. Mookerjee to Serve on Fish Committee

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has requisitioned the services of Professor H. K. Mookerjee as a member of the *ad hoc* Fish Committee which will meet in Simla this year. The University has approved of the appointment provided it does not interfere with Professor Mookerjee's duties of teaching and guiding research in the Science College.

* * *

X. The Haraganga College, Munshiganj

The Haraganga College, Munshiganj (Dacca), has been affiliated to the I.A. and I.Sc. standards in the following subjects with effect from session 1939-40:—

English, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Bengali (compulsory), History, Logic, Civics, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Botany.

* * *

XI. The Sir Asutosh College, Kanungopara, Chittagong

The Sir Asutosh College, Kanungopara, Chittagong, has been granted affiliation in the following subjects up to the I.A. standard with effect from the session 1939-40:—

English, Bengali (compulsory), Sanskrit, History, Civics, Logic, Persian, Arabic, and Mathematics.

* * *

XII. The Victoria Institution, Calcutta

The Victoria Institution has been granted affiliation in Botany to the E.A. Pass standard with effect from the next session (1939-40), extending its present scope of teaching.

* * *

XIII. The Comilla Victoria College

In extension of the affiliation already granted, the Comilla Victoria College has been affiliated in Arabic to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the session 1939-40.

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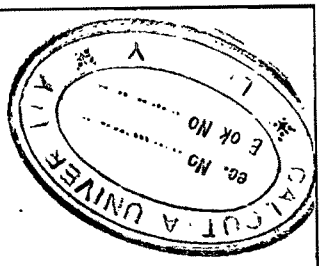
XIV. The Lady Brabourne College (for Girls), Calcutta

The Lady Brabourne College (for Girls), Calcutta, has been affiliated in the following subjects with effect from the next session (1939-40):—

English, Bengali and Urdu (as Compulsory languages), Arabic, Persian, Bengali and Urdu (as Second languages), History, Mathematics, Geography, Logic and Civics.



CONVOCATION ADDRESS

By Khan Bahadur M. Aziz-ul Huque, C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A.
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University

In accordance with an established convention handed down by my predecessors it is now my duty and privilege to address the Senate and the Graduates of this University. But before I pass on to review in brief outline the work that has been accomplished within the year, and to take stock of the various problems raised, it is my melancholy duty to pay a tribute of respect and gratitude to those whose services have been lost by death to the University within the last year.

Our Late Chancellor

In our late Chancellor, Lord Brabourne, we have lost a genuine friend and well-wisher of this University. His sympathy with our aims and aspirations and with every phase of our academic life was well known. His influence was always directed towards the welfare of this University and of this province. His personal contact with peoples and opinions of all kinds won him a degree of affection and confidence which few have had the privilege of enjoying in their lifetime. He had, at its highest and best, the genius of commonsense and of practical statesmanship. His unfailing considerateness, the warmth and wealth of his manners will keep his memory green in the history of the province and of this University. Inscrutable ways of destiny have called him away to

his Maker suddenly and without warning. Animated every moment by the thought that Providence had placed him in charge of a great responsibility, he did not leave his duty, even when his health was failing. He came to serve the people of this country and is now lain for ever in the dust of this land. To Lady Brabourne we respectfully offer our deepest sympathy in her bereavement.

Death of other eminent Scholars

Since the last Convocation, death has also taken away from our midst several eminent scholars and educationists of repute—Mr. H. A. Stark, Dr. Brojendranath Seal, Principal Girischandra Bose, Professor Jnanranjan Banerjea and Dr. Satischandra Bagchi. We expressed our deep sense of loss on each of these occasions by paying tributes of respect and gratitude to their memory in meetings of the Senate and the Syndicate and here I only wish to preface my review by once again remembering their services to the cause of advancement of learning in our province.

Work in the University

It was only in August last that I was called upon to fill the exalted office of the Vice-Chancellor of the University. Any review of the work of this great University of ours must, therefore, be taken as subject to the limitation that I have had only a few months to get fully acquainted with the multifarious and manifold activities of this University. Nevertheless, I am in a position to maintain that during the last twelve months we have been steadily pursuing the path outlined by the mighty minds in the past towards the advancement of learning, scholarship and research.

Work in the University to-day may broadly be divided into six important sections :—

1. Pre-University Teaching in Schools.
2. Pre-Degree University Teaching in Colleges.
3. Post-Graduate Teaching.
4. Research.
5. Examination.
6. Publication of useful literature in all branches and particularly in the languages of this province.

Schools

It is now recognised on all hands that school work does not properly come within the purview of the University except inasmuch as it is necessary to ensure the proper training and equipment of students coming up for University degrees. Because of historical reasons into which I need not enter this University has very important work to perform in connection with schools. During 1938 there were 1,475 schools recognised by this University. The organisation of school work in Bengal is complex in the extreme but for some years past the efforts of the University have been directed, among other things, to the proper constitution and management of the school committees, to the improvement of the pay and prospects of teachers ensuring them security and tenure of office, as well as to improving the standard of teaching by the appointment of qualified and competent teachers in schools.

New Matriculation Regulations and the Medium of the Mother-tongue

The introduction of the New Matriculation Regulations has brought in a new orientation in teaching and instruction in our schools. The inclusion of History and Geography among compulsory sub-

jects, the imparting to students of popular scientific knowledge and the rule that instruction in the main is to be through the medium of the mother-tongue are bound to ensure better teaching in our schools. These proposals were first inaugurated by the University in 1922 when the original Regulations were sent to Government for sanction. For over twelve years, no decision could be arrived at over this complicated question. I can look back in all humility but with genuine pleasure and satisfaction that as Minister for Education in 1934-35 I attempted to envisage the problem in right earnest and that it was given to me to accord final sanction to the proposals after full and careful discussion with the University during successive conferences. It is yet too early to visualise in full the far-reaching effects of these Regulations, but if expert opinion is of any value, there is no doubt they will make for better teaching in Bengal and relieve the considerable intellectual strain on our students, who hitherto were required to give expression to their thoughts in a foreign language. Cramming was inevitable under such a system. To what extent this should be followed up by adopting the mother-tongue as the medium for teaching and examination in the other University courses is a matter which is now engaging the serious consideration of all educationists. It is the view of experts that it would be to the gain of education, apart from its indirect influence on the enrichment of our languages, if, excepting English or highly technical scientific studies, and subject to such limitations as may be necessary for the transition period, the mother-tongue could generally be accepted as the medium of expression in all phases of our academic activities. The problem is no doubt complex but we shall have soon to find out a satisfactory solution.

The Bengali Language

There are some critics who still hold that our youngmen will be cut off from progress and modern life and the path of our political aspirations will be clogged if English is abandoned as the medium of teaching and instruction. This is indeed crude criticism. I do not think that there is any educationist in India or anywhere else to-day who will maintain that a sound system of teaching through the mother-tongue is inconsistent with the political progress of a country or a community. On the other hand, it will further develop our political and economic progress. Any other method is a mere artificial subterfuge. Speaking for this province, is the Bengali language so poor as some of these critics would have us believe? Are we to be told that Bengali is so uninspiring and unexpressive a language that the study of that language and its acceptance as medium of instruction will to any extent retard our progress? Bengali is the richest language of India. Scholars and savants have devoted their lives to the enrichment of this language. Bengali litterateurs have received recognition from all quarters of the globe. It has created a deep sense of patriotism and national feeling much more than any other factor. I do not deny the importance and necessity of the English language. English may remain the inter-provincial language of India but it can never replace Bengali in this province, nor will Bengali fail to stir the deepest emotions in our people, Hindus and Muslims, however much it may be necessary to know English for purposes of administration or even because of specific academic requirements.

Ideal in Schools and Colleges

The University has taken special interest, during the last few years in providing greater facilities for the training of teachers of the province. The introduction of University Training Classes which were attended last year by 870 students, mostly teachers, has gone a long way towards helping the teachers in improving the standard of teaching. But it must always be remembered that there is a clear line of demarcation between the academic requirements of a University and the work done in schools and colleges. Universities can at best lay down academic standards and methods of approach—they can prescribe text-books and the curricula, but to what extent the other factors in teaching operate must entirely depend upon the activities in schools and colleges. No University like ours has the machinery nor the means to find out whether the health and the physique of the students are well developed or to what extent corporate activities are being fostered and encouraged; or how character and personality are being formed and whether learning is being truly assimilated for the benefit of the individual and the race. No examination can possibly evaluate the character of the student—only the academic and intellectual equipment is tested by the University. All other important factors must necessarily depend upon the nature of work done in educational institutions.

Critics eager to lay the responsibility for all evils on the University are often forgetful of the manner in which day-to-day work in schools and colleges fills the life of the students. A University like ours, even if it would so wish, cannot look after the details of the residential organization of the

students, or how the life of the students in hostels and messes is being supervised. Unless an element of personal contact is brought in between the student and the teacher, unless the students are made to realise that their career in after-life depends as much upon their academic and educational attainments as upon factors which go to form personality, character and manhood, the mere test of academic attainments will bring in an influx of misfits in the hierarchy of the social and corporate life of the people. I, therefore, plead for a better realisation of this ideal in our schools and colleges; I appeal for a greater personal responsibility in dealing with the vast human material that is still in the crucible. Every student is a sacred trust to a school or a college. To what extent the trustees are properly functioning is always judged by the products that come to shape in their after-life.

If I were a Dictator

It is not necessary for me to refer to the teaching in our colleges. This University has consistently tried to set up higher and higher standards of education and instruction in all colleges. In this connection I cannot but refer, if I may be pardoned to do so without offence, to the tendencies that have of late been visible for the multiplicity of key-books, note-books, and catechisms coming in large numbers from out of the printing presses and devotedly being pushed amongst our students at cheap prices with alluring advertisements. I do not blame the teachers but I appeal to them to put a complete ban on all such easy methods. As I had occasion to state elsewhere, that if I were a dictator, I would immediately and unhesitatingly provide for the severest penalties to the authors and publishers of such key and note books. They are committing the worst crime

possible against the intellectual integrity of our students and therefore they have to be ruthlessly uprooted from society.

Examination

The examination work of this University is now a tremendous responsibility comprising hundreds of centres and covering a long period during the various Examinations of different categories and character. The printing of question papers, the organisation of the time-table and the administrative requirements of the examinations are a considerable strain on the University, if it is remembered that this year we have to deal with 45 thousand candidates in the Matriculation, over 10 thousand candidates in the Intermediate Examinations, and with about 5,500 candidates in the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations. These figures speak for themselves; besides there are many other scientific and technical examinations which we have to conduct.

Publication of useful Literature

The publication of useful literature in all branches and specially in the language of this province is now an important feature of University work. The University has been publishing important research and work done in various fields of intellectual activity in this province.

Post-Graduate Departments

The Post-Graduate Departments were organised [redacted]out 20 years back. Great minds had then visual[redacted]d the future, and judged by the result to-day no[redacted]y would question the supreme wisdom of the

steps then taken. Prior to the inauguration of Post-Graduate Teaching within the University, the University of Calcutta was more or less a mere examining body and it was with deliberation and judgment that it was decided to foster this new development in the academic life of the University.

Twenty years is not a long period in the history of a people nor even in the life of a University and yet within this period remarkable achievements have been made in teaching and research within this University. The Post-Graduate Teaching is now organised in two main sections: in the Science Departments we have Physics, pure and applied; Chemistry, pure and applied; Botany, Geology, Zoology, Physiology, Anthropology, and Psychology. In the Arts Departments, we have English, Economics, Philosophy, Pali, Arabic, Persian, History, Ancient Indian History and Culture, Comparative Philology, Sanskrit, Indian Vernaculars and Mathematics.

Extremely valuable work has been done in each of these sections and particularly in the various research laboratories but the work so far has had to be carried on within the restricted scope of limited funds, absence of suitable laboratories, and paucity of staff.

Inadequacy of Funds

Anyone who has had occasion to visit our laboratories will immediately realise how greatly handicapped we are for want of space and building accommodation. Experience has shown that it is difficult to undertake any modern research or experiment in the building that we have. We urgently require a planned and properly designed laboratory. India to-day requires a great deal more from her Universities, specially in the various branches of

industrial and scientific researches. The country demands, and very rightly too, that men of Science should take an increasing part in the constructive work of the future but this is not possible unless there are adequate funds for the purpose. It is no use condemning the University unless the people and the Government place adequate funds at its disposal.

English

The Department of English has been so organised that it may not only impart instruction in English from the literary and linguistic points of view but it has also to encourage independent study, investigation and research among our students and the teachers.

Comparative Philology

The Department of Comparative Philology is now a growing Department and the introduction of Indian Languages as a subject for the M.A. Examination has created a new and added interest in works on Comparative Philology. The close connection between studies in Comparative Philology and the higher language studies of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Pali and Indian languages generally cannot be over-estimated. This department has been gradually forming itself into a school of modern Indian Philology and studies and research in this department are opening up a new chapter in the history of India and her neighbouring countries.

Fine Arts

Valuable work has also been done in the section of Fine Arts. The Professors of this Department have made their renowned contributions

to India's past and present from the point of view of art and culture.

Mathematics

It is not necessary to emphasise the importance of higher studies in Pure and Applied Mathematics and indeed some of the great men in the history of India, and particularly of Bengal, in various professions of life, had their training and education in Higher Mathematics. The scholarship in Mathematics of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is well-known. There are many others who have had training in Mathematics, and Mathematics is a great intellectual and mental discipline and forms the basis and supporting framework for every branch of Science.

Sanskrit

The Department of Sanskrit has not merely to study the ancient treasure-house of Sanskrit language and literature but has also to deal with the various cultural phases of India's history and such work has to be co-ordinated with studies in Tibetan and Chinese.

Philosophy

The Department of Philosophy has to carry on both teaching and research in the multiple systems of Indian Philosophy, the philosophy of the East and the West, the Aryan and the Semitic, the evolution of philosophical and cultural thought and its analysis. In a country like India, with its variety of cultures and religions, it is hoped that a time will come when under the influence of this Department a new synthesis in the fundamental unity of religions will be evolved.

Pali

The Department of Pali is not merely occupied with the study of a language but also of a great phase of Eastern civilisation which is essentially Indo-Aryan in character, outlook and appeal. Pali as a Department of teaching and research has been created with a view to centralising the study of various aspects of Buddhism and its influence on the cultural history of India and the East.

Ancient Indian History and Culture

The systematised study of Ancient Indian History and Culture was first organised in the University of Calcutta and the first courses of study were prepared at a time when there was very little done in this field. To-day it embraces the general history of Vedic and Epic India, its geography, epigraphy, numismatics and fine arts, iconography, social and constitutional history, ethnology, studies in Vedic, Epic and Puranic religions, of Buddhism and Jainism, and ancient India's mathematics, astronomy and anthropology. With a view to helping the study of Ancient Indian History and Culture a Museum and Fine Arts Gallery has been arranged, associated with the name of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, whose breadth of vision and far-sighted wisdom were responsible for the inauguration of this as well as of other Post-Graduate Departments. The distinguished archaeologist Sir Leonard Wooley, who has been making a special study of the Museums and Archaeological works in India, has highly appreciated the pioneer work already done in this Museum. Excavations are now being undertaken in several places in Bengal which will open up a new chapter in the history of this province.

History

The Department of History has three main divisions of work, *viz.*, pre-historic India, mediaeval India and modern India, and this Department has not merely to study History in its ordinary conception but also to carry on investigations into the different cultural phases of political, social, economic and constitutional history. Subjects such as these cannot be studied unless there is an adequate number of scholars working on different phases of India's history and I am particularly anxious that this Department may soon take up a survey of the economic, social and cultural history of mediaeval India.

Our Great Heritage

History of India is a great heritage to each and every one of us. We have to be proud of our history and our past, and studies in the history of our India must supply the background of the essential unity of all the different peoples inhabiting this vast country. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Jainas, Bengalees, Marhattas, and Punjabis must all be proud of the history of India and we have to introduce a new vision in our history which will make the Hindus and Muslims realise that to-day they belong essentially to the culture of India as a whole. It is only the study of History that can supply the necessary inspiration and background, rich both in quality and in quantity. The Hindu must as much feel pride in the history of Muslim India as the Muslim must feel in the history of Hindu India. That is where the fundamental unity of political India lies and the Indologist and the Islamic historian of

the future must so work that we can all genuinely feel pride in the fact that we all belong to India and to India alone. It is from this point of view that historical studies are to be organised in future. A vast amount of material is now lying about especially concerning the period of Islamic history in India. The administration and political systems of the Mughals and the Pathans, their influence on social, economic and political life, their contributions to the development of this country are matters to be still studied, explored and investigated. Indian history is our priceless heritage and the map of India has to be re-read and re-written.

Interest in India

The student must, imperceptibly receive vivid impressions of other ages, races and cultures, and in him must slowly awaken a sympathy with the past which is the essential foundation of the historical sense. We have to arouse in him that interest in India, with its institutions, its social and political developments. He has to familiarise himself with the dynasties and races, the upheavals of society, and movements of men and minds, apart from the sequence of dates and events.

The child and the student have to be slowly trained to become members of the Indian community and citizens of the Indian Empire. The student at the end of his career must feel a genuine interest in the distant past and in the successive stages through which this fascinating past has brought in the present.

Our Fascinating Past

Giants of men have left their impress on Indian history such as will not easily perish or wither away.

From these imperishable imprints, much of which has not yet been investigated, the student must be helped to draw his inspiration and delight, to love his countrymen, and to think well of those who have been the builders of Indian History. India has never lived a life of isolation and at successive stages has come into contact with other countries, races and cultures. It is not merely the imagination of the Poet when he says :

"কেহ নাহি জানে—কার আহ্বানে
কতো মানুষের ধারা
দুর্ব্বার স্রোতে এলো কোথা হ'তে
সমুদ্রে হ'ল হারা।
হেথায় আর্য্য, হেথা অনার্য্য,
হেথায় দ্রাবিড়, চীন—
শক হূন-দল পাঠান মোগল
এক দেহে হ'ল লীন।
পশ্চিম আজি খুলিয়াছে দ্বার,
সেথা হ'তে সবে আনে উপহার,
দিবে আর নিবে, মিলাবে মিলিবে,
যাবে না ফিরে,
এই ভারতের মহা-মানবের
সাগর-তীরে॥"

"*Nobody knows at whose call came over so many streams of humanity. They came, nobody knows from where, in an irresistible stream and lost themselves in the sea. Here the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the Dravidians, the Chinese, the Sakas, the Hunas, the Pathans, the Mughals—all merged themselves in one body. The West has to-day opened its gates, presents are being brought from there by everyone. There will be giving and taking, reconciliation and union, and there will be*

no going back, on the shores of the vast sea of Indian humanity.''

Economics and Commerce

The Department of Economics and Commerce is a growing department and though much has been done in studying the problems of banking and currency, of taxation and fiscal policy, of theories of profits and incomes, of population and migration, a very large amount of work still remains to be done, especially those dealing with problems connected with the economics of rural Bengal. The problem of food supply and indebtedness, the influence of rainfall and climate, housing problems in industrial areas as well as in the rural regions of Bengal, the effect of modernization on agricultural occupations and openings, incidents of rents and cess, problems of finance and revenue, wages and prices, distribution and marketing of products, incidence of local, provincial and imperial taxation, credit organisations and credit problems, family budgets apart from high imperial questions like those of tariff, exchange, currency or railway rates have to be studied in the interest of the millions of this province.

Chemistry

In the Department of Pure Chemistry very valuable work has been done of national and international importance. Work in this Department has been so varied that it is very difficult to summarise it but its main contribution has been the chemical, structural and crystallographic study of elements and materials and compounds, study of analytical chemistry, isolation and study of the constitution of natural products and their synthesis and various

other cognate matters relating to natural products and chemical compounds. Constituent elements of Indian economic products have been carefully investigated and their reactions studied. Industrial applications of these are also being explored.

Zoology

In the Department of Zoology special attention is now being paid to the problems of economic interest and very valuable work has been done in the direction of research in insects and pests in cereals, the study of fish life, collection of valuable specimens of zoological importance.

Physics

The Department of Physics was started in the year 1916. The starting of the Department was rendered possible through the munificence of Sir Taraknath Palit, Sir Rashbehary Ghose and of Kumar Guruprasad Singh of Khaira.

Since the inception of the Department, two of the Professors were elected Fellows of the Royal Society, which is considered the highest scientific distinction in the world, and the first Palit Professor was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1929 on his great discovery of the phenomenon known as Raman Effect.

The second Palit Professor has made permanent contributions to the theories of Magnetism.

The present Palit Professor of Physics is known to the world of Physics as the discoverer of the law of Thermal Ionization which, in the words of Prof. Sommerfeld, has given a second birth to the science of Astrophysics, and in recognition of which he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1927.

The present Ghose Professor of Physics was the first to start the study of the Ionosphere in India. He is the discoverer of the C and D layers of the Ionosphere.

The Khaira Professor of Physics is well-known for his contributions to the study of X-rays and Electron Diffraction.

When the Department was started in 1916, it was assumed that the housing in the present buildings would only be temporary. The present buildings, where the Department is housed, were designed originally only for Chemistry and for Biological Sciences. The idea was that the housing would only be temporary, as a modern physical laboratory requires special design.

It is very necessary that a station should be built outside the city limits of Calcutta for such experiments and observations on the Ionosphere, Cosmic Rays, Meteorology as cannot be carried out in the city owing to electrical disturbances, vibration of the ground, etc. For many experiments, such as measurement of Polarisation and direction of incidence of Wireless waves, investigations on Weather (Meteorology) and on Cosmic Rays, etc., it is necessary that experiments should be carried on in a space which is free from electrical and vibrational disturbances which are inevitable within a city area.

The Department has not so far carried out any Industrial Research. A new building is urgently needed so designed that industrial research on Wireless, Refrigeration, Fruit Preservation and many other matters of national importance can be carried out. Work on the texture of soils, on the constitution of Jute and other fibres and on testing of materials can be undertaken if there is more space and funds.

Applied Physics

Intended to impart a sound theoretical and practical training in the elements of Electrical Engineering to those that have attained the B.Sc. Honours standard in Physics, the present course of study in Applied Physics covers a wide range of subjects.

Some of the students trained in this section have started the manufacture of Transformers on a commercial scale and within the last five years have been able to supply Transformers at competitive prices to the different electric companies and industrial concerns. Another student of this Department has started manufacturing Talkie Machines and Public Address Systems and supplied these instruments to many places.

Repairs of small and large size motors from many public institutions, the fans and motors of the University Offices and other University Departments are now being repaired in the Laboratory.

Many colleges are now regularly being supplied with instruments designed and manufactured in our laboratory at a cost practically one-third of the imported ones. Even some of the recognised instrument dealers are regularly placing orders not only for repair work but also for the instruments designed in our Laboratory.

In the Standardisation and Measurement Section the aim is to have a Central Laboratory where it would be possible to standardise the diverse types of measuring instruments used for industrial, domestic and other purposes. For this we had to secure our main standards from makers recommended by the different Standardising Institutions of the world, *e.g.*, National Physical Laboratory of England, France, Germany and the United States

of America. The collection in this Department is so far unique in India but for want of space the work essentially needed for national services cannot now be fully taken up.

It is well known that several million Clinical Thermometers are being used every day in this vast country of ours but every physician who is guided by the records of those thermometers is aware of the uncertainties recorded by them. About ten years ago the National Physical Laboratory of England opened a section for standardising clinical thermometers and last year it was reported that they had to undertake the standardisation of 100,000 thermometers. That work can very well be taken up in our Laboratory if space permits the setting up of a section especially for the purpose.

The Communication Section is the latest addition to this Department, being started only in 1935, and teaches Communication Engineering in its different aspects. It has secured an endowment amounting to Rs. 25,000 from the bequest of the late Mukhram Kanodia.

The Photometry, Electro-thermic and Electrochemical Section comprises standard equipments suited to the appraisal of the luminosities of various types of electric and gas lamps as well as apparatus to determine the heating power of town gas or any type of producer gas.

The Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation took advantage of this section about five years ago to ascertain the comparative merits of gas mantles, and electric lamps for illuminating purposes. At present the Calcutta Corporation has requested this Department to determine the nature of illumination required for the different thoroughfares of our city and extensive measure-

ments have been taken disclosing the type of illumination that the Corporation has arranged for vehicular and pedestrian traffic. It is hoped that from these data the Corporation will come to a decision regarding the standard of illumination suitable for our city.

The growth of cities and the planning of buildings in cities have brought in the question of the "Right of Light" and there is a Parliamentary Committee engaged in investigating the minimum amount of light necessary in a dwelling room for the health of individuals. The same Committee has requested the Government of India to start investigation regarding the factor of light in different parts of India during different seasons of the year and the present Ghose Professor is a member of the All-India Body to investigate the matter.

The demand for Indian Vegetable Oils as raw materials for different industries had so long been mainly directed to the chemical aspects, *viz* , suitability for soap-making or for edible purposes or for medicinal uses. The physical aspects of Oil have not been considered owing to the fact that mineral oil during the last 50 years has grown into such importance in the West that there has been hardly any competitor to it in these fields. It is only during the last War that it was discovered that, as a lubricant, mineral oil is unsuitable for certain classes of machines, *e.g.*, the Aero-Engines, and here castor oil was found to be the right material. A judicious mixture of mineral and vegetable oils has been found to be very effective even for Automobiles and for other purposes. The temperate climate of the West happens not to be suitable for the growth of oil-producing seeds, but for our country there is a wealth of vegetable oils whose properties

require a thorough investigation for their different uses.

Our Spectroscopic Laboratory is one of the finest in the East and considerable investigations have been carried on in the spectrum of molecules in gaseous, liquid and solid states. In the course of investigation in our Laboratory, molecules of compounds unknown to chemists have been found. The presence of a compound of phosphorus and nitrogen was first detected in our Laboratory.

Spectroscopic investigation happens to be the only means for detecting the presence of mineral substances in very minute quantities, and much work has been done in the West to ascertain the importance of materials in minute quantities affecting the growth of vegetables. It may not be out of place to mention here that our Laboratory has been requisitioned by the Agricultural Department of the Government of Burma to investigate the cause of and to suggest the remedy for a peculiar behaviour of some paddy crops. It was found in Burma that in certain tracts the crops grew up to a certain stage and then wilted down. The agricultural experts were unable to detect any insect pest or deficiency in chemical composition in the soils. Spectroscopic examination of the ashes of the paddy in the healthy as well as in the unhealthy plants and the different soils in which they grow are now going on. It is too early to predict anything very definite but investigations so far go to show that in the unhealthy soils there is an absence of *vanadium*, a rare metal, in very minute quantities. The information has been communicated and the result of the next crop, when a very dilute solution of vanadium salt would be introduced into the fields as a remedy, is now being awaited with interest.

Electro-chemical researches have been recently taken up in our Research Laboratory mainly with a view to designing appliances suitable for industrial purposes. In fact, according to the suggestions of Professor Sir P. C. Ray, the design and construction of a suitable component for the preparation of chlorine and caustic soda and common salt have been undertaken and one of our students is now working on a plant of semi-factory scale in the Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., where practically all the components have been of Indian origin and Indian manufacture.

Investigations on Indian Textiles have been taken up for about a year to make a study of the fundamental composition of Indian Textile materials, *e.g.*, Jute and Bengal Silk. The artificial fertilizers derived out of atmospheric fixation of nitrogen have produced a revolution as manurial addition to soils in different parts of the world and such manures if economically produced would serve to solve a very great problem for Bengal. This work can also be taken up in our Laboratory if funds are available.

Physical Chemistry

The Physical Chemistry Laboratory was opened in September, 1915.

The main lines of research carried out in the Physical Chemistry Laboratory or by persons trained here deal with several branches of colloid science, electro-chemistry, soil science, thixotrophy and certain problems bearing on serological and bio-chemical subjects.

The study of colloids in India was first introduced in this University and gradually a school of colloid chemistry and of soil science has been

built up, and persons trained in this Laboratory have made many important contributions to our knowledge of the subject. These are referred to in the various text-books dealing with colloids, electro-chemistry, physiology and serology, and the fundamental importance of most of these are now well recognised by leading authorities in Europe and America.

Our men must be so trained as to promote the teaching of and research in technological and industrial establishments covering a wide range of industrial and technological subjects, such as metallurgical processes, alkali and chemical industries, alloys, tanning, glass industry, dyeing, serology, etc. But the equipments of the Laboratories and their planning require to be overhauled in order to bring them in line with those of similar institutions abroad and also in order to enable the Department to contribute to the development of scientific knowledge and to the solution of technical problems of importance to industries.

Geology

Post-Graduate teaching in Geology was taken over by the University in 1917. But the University has not yet been able to establish its own Geological Laboratory, and Post-Graduate teaching, both theoretical aud practical, has to be carried on in the Geology Department of the Presidency College.

Intensive study of various questions (*e.g.*, soil, earthquake, different economic minerals, etc.), which are of extreme importance theoretically and economically, cannot be undertaken for want of an adequate staff and laboratory equipment.

Anthropology

Anthropology as a part of the curriculum of Post-Graduate studies was first introduced in the University of Calcutta in 1918. At that time it was only a subsidiary subject. It was raised to the status of an independent subject in 1920, and a separate Department of Anthropology was created, but it was only from 1925 that adequate provisions could be made for this newly created Department.

This Department has from the commencement made arrangements for teaching as well as research work in the different branches, *viz.*, Physical Anthropology, Prehistoric Archæology and Cultural Anthropology.

The Department has gradually acquired a representative collection of specimens and casts (of skulls, bones and fossils). The Anthropometric Laboratory is also equipped with the most up-to-date instruments.

Arrangements have also been made for special facilities for collaboration, in research work, with other Departments of the University, such as the Students' Welfare Department and the Bio-chemistry Department.

The work done is not only of academic but of practical interest. The researches carried out on growth, vital capacity and constitutional types of Bengali boys will assuredly be of considerable help in any programme of national welfare work.

Psychology

The Psychological Laboratory of the University of Calcutta was started in 1916. Provision was made for a Professorship of Psychology in 1930 but the Chair remained vacant for eight years. Only last month the Professorship was filled

up. The University has recently included Psychology in the list of subjects for study in the Intermediate course and has permitted candidates for the Arts Degree examination to take it up as one of the subjects of their study.

The Department is frequently consulted by the Borstal School, the Juvenile Offenders' Court, the Society for the Protection of Children in India, the Refuge, the Bodhana and similar other institutions. On one occasion suspected thieves were sent by the Police for being psychologically tested and on another occasion a big commercial firm had its products appraised in this Laboratory.

The Department has been engaged for some time past in devising and standardizing mental tests in the Bengali language for local use. A Research Scholar has been appointed by the University for this purpose. About 2,000 school students have been examined already. Some time back psychological observations were made by the Department in the Steel and Iron Factory at Jamshedpur and in the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works at Manicktola. The suggestions offered were appreciated by the authorities concerned and were accepted.

Magnitude of Work

To carry on this vast magnitude of work in the whole circle of mental and moral, philosophical and historical sciences, and the ever-growing groups of physical and natural sciences in all the variety of their branches we have to depend at present on 12 Professors, 49 Lecturers, 2 Assistant Lecturers and 61 teachers outside the grade, in the Arts Section and 13 Professors, 27 Lecturers, 17 Assistant Lecturers

and 13 teachers outside the grade in the Science Section which includes Applied Mathematics. In addition services of 22 Honorary Lecturers in the Arts Department and 36 Honorary Lecturers in the Science Department are requisitioned from various colleges and other institutions. On the basis of the actuals of 1937-38 we have roughly to spend about twelve and a half lakhs of rupees annually for the purpose of teaching and research. The fees from students fetch an income of roughly one lakh and seventy thousand rupees, while receipts under various endowments come to about one lakh and ninety thousand rupees. The balance of nearly nine lakhs and a half has to be met from the General Funds of the University. The Science Department specially requires immediate expansion and a planned laboratory with residential accommodation for students near by is an urgent necessity of this Department. We have certainly established very strong claims upon the munificence of our wealthy and educated countrymen and of Government for substantial help so that we may draw new furrows and plant the Great Hereafter in the Now.

Our Needs

We have now no Senate Hall adequate to hold the Convocation. Our record rooms are terribly congested. The Library with its 170,000 volumes of books is daily growing and immediately requires expansion. Our laboratories and buildings are scattered all over the town. Teaching classes cannot be extended. Rooms are not available for all the branches of higher studies and research. A new planning is, therefore, immediately required for adequate habitation of all our requirements.

It is, as I have said, near about 20 years that teaching and research in the Post-Graduate Department were first begun in this University. It took some years before the Departments could be properly organised. To-day the different Post-Graduate Departments have received a definite shape. We may now look up to the future not only in the highest academic interests of the University but from the point of view of their importance to the future welfare and development of this province.

The work in the Post-Graduate Department requires highly specialised training, instruction and teaching. It involves long and careful laboratory research and application and demonstration of the many data and theories. Scientific, objective and statistical studies are constantly needed. Nobody will accept to-day that the University is merely to teach theories and not to train to the application of these theories, that we should confine our work merely to study and analysis, to teaching the mere basic principles, with no corresponding touch with the fundamental economic and industrial needs of the country. Critics generally with an abundance of their only gift for ridicule and irony are impatient of what they call our expansion but are generally blind to the achievements and gifts of the University: they are alike deaf to the call of the future. They do not realise the past achievements of this University, nor even get a grasp of the implications of teaching and research in the University for the industrial and cultural development of the people.

But those who are able to appraise facts and lessons of history in their proper perspective will admit that this University has not only been the

pioneer, but most forward in advancing the cultural needs of the people. The whole structure of our national life and thought has been profoundly affected by the University. It has extended the bounds of human knowledge and it has made the people value and appreciate the arts, literature and science. It has given leaders of men in the different political, economic, social, industrial and scientific activities of the people. Revolutionary changes are distinctly visible in the structure and organisation of society. Are we to remain content with pioneer work and add no superstructure—are we not to provide for greater facilities for more knowledge, and are we not to create opportunities for further studies and research?

But such work requires considerable outlay of money and no University in the world has the power of taxation. The sources of its income, apart from the income limited to fees and other miscellaneous receipts, must necessarily depend upon State grants, generous endowments and contributions from the people. If the country has to be benefited from work within the University, it can legitimately expect money from the State as well as from private persons for all necessary expansion and proper maintenance. If industries have benefited in the past from studies and research in the University, getting them profits and dividends, one can reasonably expect funds from these industrial concerns to carry on further work. Can the best of the Universities, the best of scholars, the best of teachers, the best of curricula do anything if there is not enough laboratory space and if research grant is not adequate. We are sadly in need to-day of expansion of all our activities and

particularly of more accommodation and proper laboratory arrangements and equipments. People outside often do not realise the amount of space and the nature of surroundings that are needed for training and research in specialised arts and sciences. And all stimulation and efforts towards improvement and expansion depend on funds. History records the most important fact that whenever nations diminish their interest and support of Universities they soon degenerate into second-rate nations, backward in every phase of life.

To Firms and Industrialists

My special appeal is particularly directed to those notable firms and industrialists of this province who have not only the ability to pay but also have the ability to appoint a large number of our trained scientific men and scholars under them for research in specialised work, and I trust that they will realise that this is a supreme question of national importance. If they fail, the responsibility of the future will not lie at the door of the University. In this connection may I pointedly bring to the notice of all concerned the necessity of providing greater opportunities of employment and avocation for our highly educated and trained youngmen to which their training, culture and academic attainments fully entitle them. Unless Bengal is developed industrially, unless there are opportunities for our trained men to be employed in many different branches of industry, commerce and business, it is futile to expect that this province will be able to make any great headway in the progressive development of India.

The average number of M.Sc.'s is only about 100 annually in the different branches. Their

training has been of the highest possible order. They have yet their life before them. In a province with a population like that of Bengal, is it too much to expect that they should be easily absorbed in the different industrial and scientific fields?

Let us take the case of the great firms of chemists and druggists, of engineering and construction, of steel and iron, of textiles and jute, of coal and manganese, of colour and prints. Could we not expect that a little sum out of their profits may be utilised for carrying on research in their lines?—Cannot some of our Graduates and Masters of Science be specially employed to find out the possibilities of developing their industries? This is the line along which we can expect the province to help employment, but, instead, if we find that these firms and factories are doing nothing more than merely employing these graduates as clerks or at best as finished artisans, they are not national assets but mere profit-earning machines, useless for the province as a whole except to the extent that they employ a certain number of intellectual wage-earners as labourers.

Pay of Teachers

It is also undoubtedly true that while every other service in this province is fairly well-paid, the educational services in general are not paid adequately. If teachers of Secondary schools are paid nothing better than Rs. 35, Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 for their entire teaching work, if work in colleges has to be done by men who have to spend their entire life and career on Rs. 75 or Rs. 100, if our University work in the bulk has to be

carried on by men who are paid Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 only, and even less, it is only natural that the best of brains will generally try to go in for other and more alluring occupations of life.

Unemployment

Oftentimes education is criticised for creating the educated unemployed. But it is always forgotten that the real reason does not lie with the University or with our educational institutions but it is due to the fact that our province is not in a state of balance between industry and agriculture. There is not much development of business, trade, industry and commerce amongst our own people. Judged by the standard of education in broadening the outlook, strengthening the character and fitting up the youngmen for the varied avocations of life, there is no doubt that our educated youths, if given opportunities, will do their best, but it is exactly these opportunities that they do not get. For this lack of opportunities the University is not in any way responsible. It is generally forgotten that the unemployment problem is primarily an economic problem and the duty is the duty of the State and the people.

Islamic Studies

In connection with the higher Post-Graduate studies we are gradually realising the necessity of properly organising Islamic Studies within the University. That cannot be done merely by the study of the Arabic and the Persian languages. The University of Calcutta is situated in a province where the Muslims form more than half of the total population and it is only an inevitable

consequence of higher education that Muslims should keenly feel the necessity of fuller scope for their intellectual and academic activities within the University. While a Muslim student to-day may be well-grounded in general and scientific subjects, he has little or no opportunity of acquainting himself with the culture of Islam, its traditions, its place in history and its significance in the texture of Indian life. It is eminently desirable that, under the guidance of the University, Muslim students should be so educated that, whilst being fully imbued with the modern spirit and animated by progressive and scientific ideas, they may also know the creative thoughts in Islam, without in any way forgetting that they belong to Bengal and to India. The work of the University should be arranged and organised in such a manner that it may harmonise the cultural trends of all of its constituents, aiming ultimately at an intellectual unity of the whole. Work within the University should be so planned that there may be a critical study of all the cultural streams of Indian life. In the highest interests of education in this province, Muslims and Hindus should both co-operate, one considerately respectful of the other's convictions, always ready to preserve their individual cultural traditions within the wider framework of the University's corporate life.

It has been a blunder in the past to assume that a Muslim student has his sole interest in taking up higher language studies in Arabic and Persian. For him there is also an empire of knowledge, vast in extent and variety, suiting his special aptitude, requiring years of devoted study and research, for its full expression. The Muslim in India has also a fascinating heritage

of achievements. But the work done so far along this line has been meagre. It is in this perspective that the unmistakable signs of an intellectual ferment in the Muslim community should be utilised for India as a whole. The highest interests of education, the ultimate welfare of this province, urgently call for a programme of work in the University which would fill up this undoubted gap and the matter is now engaging the serious consideration of the University. That will truly bring in a spirit of harmony and concord and will remove antagonism, hostility and conflict. Diversities of races, cultures and religions will then be harmonised into one national outlook for India. But this requires adequate and additional funds, and I hope the attention of the Government and the people will be especially directed towards this problem.

Paucity of Muslims in Science Classes

There is another problem which I should refer to in this connection. It is the paucity of Muslims in the Science Classes. There are at present only three Muslim students in the 5th-year Science Classes out of a total of 156 and 3 out of 121 in the 6th-year Science Classes; while the average of annual passes in Intermediate Science during the last six years has not exceeded 100, and the number of B.Sc's has been less than 20. This is a serious matter and early attention of all concerned should be directed towards this.

Our Activities during the Past Year

It is not possible even to make hurried references to our activities during the past year. It will be necessary to go through the annual

report of the Syndicate for a fuller and more comprehensive study of all our activities.

The organisation of the Teachers' Training course was one of the most important works done and, as I have said before, these courses were attended by 870 students, mostly teachers of schools. Definite steps have now been taken for the institution of a course of Agricultural education and provision has been made for an agricultural farm. Momentous changes have been made in the Regulations of the University, and Board of Accounts and Budget Committees have been replaced by the University Finance Committee and Post-Graduate Finance Committee.

Syllabuses and courses of studies have been revised in many subjects while Honours courses have been instituted in Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu in the B.A. Examination and Assamese has been introduced as a Second language in the B.A. Pass course.

The M.B. regulations have been revised and Degree courses in Metallurgy and Architecture have been newly provided.

A new Press building is being constructed and land is being acquired for the extension of the Science Laboratories.

Valuable works have been done in the Students' Welfare Department concerning the Health and Physique of the students.

The adoption of a syllabus for Military Studies has opened up new possibilities for the students. The question has to be pursued further so that a Bengali student may have full practical and theoretical training in Military Studies.

Appointments Board

During the year under review the activities of the Appointments and Information Board attract-

ed greater attention from the business community. When the Board started its work, there were only 10 business houses who agreed to co-operate with it, but by the end of the year the total number was 99. I must publicly acknowledge the most cordial co-operation that we have received from the big commercial and industrial firms of Calcutta and specially of the European community, in requisitioning the services of the Appointments Board and in their employing a good number of our graduates.

To the Graduates of the University

So long I have been speaking of the activities of the University during the last year. Now it is my pleasant duty, in conclusion, to address a few words to you, Graduates of the University. After all, this function of the Convocation is held year by year in your honour and though we, Vice-Chancellors, by established convention, take this opportunity of reviewing the work done in the past and expressing our ideas about the work to be done in the future, it is you who stand closest to our minds. To-day you have received formally your Degrees, and after years of study your lives have been crowned with academic success. You are now to go out into the world with its infinite forms of enterprises, and face the grim struggle with the realities of existence. In that supreme battle of life always strive to do better, to know more and to do your best. Retain the highest principles of idealism that you have learnt in the University and never allow yourselves to go into stagnation. Play your part nobly in the task of reconstruction of our national life. In the new synthesis of life Bengal expects her youths to do their best. Never be false to your ideals

and always turn back to your *Alma Mater* with devotion and attachment. Always try to strike out your own line of thought without servile and uncritical borrowing of the views of others. Evaluate, appraise and assess by your own judgment. Examine all questions on intrinsic merit and never hesitate to give out your honest convictions as what you hold to be true. In a controversy always try to understand the view-points of others and do not pass any judgment without consideration of the conflicting claims and views. Do not attribute motives to your opponents who might have as honest convictions as yours. And above all let us have supreme faith in our traditions and in our past. Let us all remain essentially an eastern and an Indian nation. Let us not abandon the priceless treasures of our own cultures. The parting message of your University is: Be worthy of your Degrees and keep the map of this province and this country before you throughout your life and career.*

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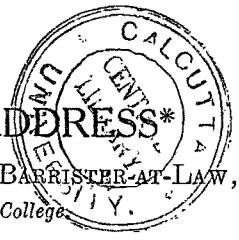
* Delivered on 11th March 1939.



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

By P. N. Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A.
Principal, University Law College.

Brother Professors, My Fellow Workers,

I do not give expression to idle words of convention when I tell you, how grateful I am for the kind invitation which you have extended to me to preside over your deliberations today. Daulatpur is not unknown to me. I have, in the course of my administrative duties in the University of Calcutta, made myself familiar with the joys and sorrows of this wonderful institution here. I remember with pride and gratitude that this institution which symbolises the dreams of an almost fading past, was built on deep bogs and shallow tanks, washing away the last mortal remains of pomp and power, of jealously and hatred, of envy and malice, by the bold initiative and the devoted self-sacrifice of one man. He has carved for himself an abiding corner in the educational system of the province. He started life as a very poor boy, and felt to the marrow of his bones, the pangs of poverty, the hunger for knowledge. He stands today, as a beacon-light in the midst of surrounding darkness. He is my beloved friend, Brojo Lal Chakravarti. Standing here on the banks of the eternal river Bhairab or floating down the stream of its turbid waters, I have often had a vista of the ingenuity of man and the triumph of science. I have often wondered whether this river does not represent an eternal longing and ambition, whether in the course of its flow, while washing away the feet of the god Dadhibamana, the patron deity of this institution, it does not pay its humble tribute to our glorious days that are no more, to our traditions of the past, to our great religion which has, through centuries of suffering and sorrow, of revolutions—political, economic, social—have survived the aggressive lust of conquests and the certain lapse of empires.

* Delivered at the Conference of All Bengal College and University Teachers' Association, on 8th April 1939, at Daulatpur.

Standing here in your midst I feel heavily laden with the burden of responsibility. May I first of all, pay my homage to those illustrious educationists who guided your deliberations ? Principal Giris Chandra Bose and Principal Jnan Ranjan Banerjea, two of your Presidents, are no longer in the midst of the living. Both of them dedicated their lives to the cause of education in this province. Both of them were at the helm till God was pleased to take them away from our midst. The one typified in his person the abiding faith, the eternal hope, the never-faltering charity of a devout Christian ; the other personified the spirit of scientific research and criticism, as also the glorious heritage of a pious Hindu. To them Bengal owes an indelible debt of gratitude. On their memorials the simple epitaph of De Tocqueville in the famous garden at Tuillieres in Paris might be written: "They were as great as men could be, *minus* all their vices." Principal Satis Chandra Chatterjee who has also gone to the realms of the unknown needs no words of repetition from me. He was the life and soul of your organisation. In Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray you obtained a good friend, a devoted philosopher, an unerring guide. Where is that educationist, where is that philanthropist, where is that scientist in Bengal to-day who is held in such deep and affectionate esteem not merely by numerous students but by millions and millions of his admiring countrymen and countrywomen ? That frail figure has given his utmost all to his *alma mater* and to his country. In Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, you obtained the services of a true seer, the most dignified and the most efficient ambassador of his race. In Sir Chandra Sekhar Venkata Raman you harnessed to your cause a gigantic scientific instrument. No one regrets more than I do the departure of Sir C. V. Raman from Bengal—the land of his greatness—the the land where his genius blossomed forth. In Principal W. S. Urquhart you got a President, pre-eminently practical, ever loyal to his college, a philosopher not simply looking beyond the realms of the unknown

but one who frequently came down from his flights of fancy and imagination to solid earth. Dr. Urquhart now enjoys his well-earned rest amidst the Caledonian hills—wild and grand, as a child of Nature. In Professor Hemendra Kumar Sen you obtained a President, ever-anxious to expound the principles of mechanical and chemical combination. Calcutta remembers his exploits for the advancement of the bounds of chemical knowledge, for his great efforts to solve the almost insoluble problems of unemployment. In Professor Jaygopal Banerjea you saw the reflection in a limpid mirror, of deep knowledge and vast experience. He is a born teacher always living far away from the madding crowd's ignoble strife. He enjoys today his well-deserved holiday. In Principal Rabindra Narayan Ghose you appreciated genuine scholarship, great administrative efficiency. You must have admired him as I have often admired him—a true Nature's gentleman. The closing years of his life have indeed been shadowed and saddened by the irreparable loss of those whom men and women in all ages and climes have held dearest. Undaunted by calamities, with tragic, philosophic calmness there stands Principal Ghose at the rudder, in all his pristine amiability and greatness. In Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerjee you secured the devoted services of the most dynamic personality in Bengal today. The heir to the unfulfilled renown, the genius and the greatness of his great father, Dr. Mookerjee will, in years to come, I am sure, be regarded as one of the makers of modern Bengal. His soul is like a star—but it does not dwell apart. His is a voice which sounds like the voice of the sea. In Principal Kamakhya Charan Nag you heard the deep music of old. As I was reading his address the other day, I saw indeed the visions of *Naimisaranya* of bygone days. He is indeed a *rishi* in *Naimisaranya* which has no local habitation—which has no name. My broken and humble whispers of prayer go to Him on high for the grant of years of prosperity and joy to all your past Presidents who are still amongst us.

Comrades and fellow workers—we are indeed living through stirring times. As teachers of the youth of our country, your responsibilities have all along been great. They are greater than ever before today. It has often been said that education is the policy of a nation but not its politics. Unfortunately, circumstanced as we are today, it seems as though we have cut ourselves adrift from the old moorings, and are voyaging through shoals and shallows to an unchartered ocean. Last year your President rejoiced, " that after more than hunderd years' struggle the nation now seems to have recovered its soul." " We have been experiencing " he said, " the advent of the Nation's new era under the influence of which the apparently dried up body-politic has begun to send forth new shoots— an undoubted mark of life." Doubting Thomases, gasping Quintilians, jesting Pilates, prancing Attilas, are attempting here as elsewhere to ride rough-shod over the ordinary concepts of brotherhood and sisterhood. To them they are but unnatural fruits of bastard parenthood. Here as elsewhere we find rupture with the past, broadcast ideas about domination and subordination, glorification of narrowness, the installation of force. If one was a medieval divine in a Christian world, he would have doubted not merely the existence of this soul, but he would have turned his nose at this peculiarly nauseating conception of nationhood. Almost hundred years have rolled by since the transfer of India from the control of the Company to the Crown, but the memories of the battle of Plassey about two hundred years ago now seem to have risen like the classical sphinx from out of the ashes of degradation, contumely and humiliation. We shall not be permitted to forget in Bengal, the events centuries old, hallowed by the remembrance of men. The difficulties of education in this chaotic confusion of ideas and in this conflict of ideals amidst the wreckage of memories are indeed staggering. What part will the professoriate of our colleges and University play in this great drama which misses altogether the three-

fold unities of life ? Will they fight for their cherished ideals or will they sit idle? Will they strive for better understanding, will they make their most notable and abiding contributions towards the goal of a common life, or will they part asunder, or will they in self-contemplation freeze themselves into inactivity and be regarded merely as automatons and drones of society ? Will they act as eagles towards their eaglets, or will they merely tender the apologies of professors apostrophised by Stephen Leacock ?

Fellow teachers—the achievements of your association are great. How I wish they were greater still ! I know full well the difficulties and the obstacles in your way. Your relations with the Calcutta University—your *alma mater* and my *alma mater* require precision, definition, regulation. You live under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University, and yet your voices are heard like muffled drums within its inner council. The Senate of the Calcutta University under the Act of Incorporation as well as under the amending Act of 1904 is yet predominently a body where the principle of nomination for a term of five years rules. The great body of what are characterised as private and un-aided colleges in Bengal, finds no representation on the Senate with one single exception of recent years. Colleges affiliated to the University who might by a touch of the magic wand of the State either in form of a Charter or Statute be at once converted into Universities, with thousands of students and numerous professors on its rolls, receive no statutory recognition for purposes of representation on the Governing Bodies of the University. Regulations framed pursuant to the very limited powers granted to the University by the Act of 1904 have permitted the addition of just a few teachers from the affiliated colleges to the Boards of Studies in the Faculties of Arts and Science. This Act of a bureaucratic government is an act of deliberate omission due to an unconcealed desire for suppression of the spread of education. The people of Bengal are not responsible

for it. Yet the only solution of this problem, namely legislative adjustment in the present clamour of victorious communalism is risky and ruinous. Representation on the Governing Bodies of Universities is now being claimed on the basis of population. This is regarded as " due share " in the administration of a seat of culture. Attempts are now sedulously being made to base education not upon culture but upon long-exploded ideas of religion harnessed to a reactionary form of politics. Efforts are being made to superimpose an alien form of culture, divorced from the ideal, upon a culture which has grown during hundreds of years of glorious struggles. Attempts are now being made towards conversion of culture to a faith not of universal but of sectarian persuasion. Even the history of India after the lapse of centuries, is being attempted to be re-written from a peculiarly propagandist point of view. History, which in every country in the world is supposed to enshrine within its womb eternal and elemental truths, has been the victim of unscrupulous publicity. The theory of fiduciary relationship is now being attempted to be replaced by pristine virginity, by unalloyed innocence and by what are called irrevocable and irresistible truths. How I wish that education were freed from this obnoxious atmosphere of poison gas ! How I wish that education in Bengal were freed from dogmas, from cloister pale, or from outbursts of frenzied prophecy ! The one relying upon the doctrine of *patria potestas* of a narrow, exclusive, tyrannical paternalism and the other drawing its continued and continuous inspiration from pontifical authority is as reprehensible as the other. The one creates senile servility, the other fosters selfish separatism. The one feeds on a peculiar conception of academic utility, the other draws its sustenance from religious narrowness. Comrades and fellow-workers: are you strong enough to resist the aggressive tendencies—the alluring attractions of both ? I realise fully well your difficulties. You are an organisation with a will of your own, but yours is an organisa-

tion which is tolerated, not respected or feared. The story of years of patient waiting, for what you call the " College Code," the tale of its partial working are eloquent commentaries on the inefficient execution of this will due to absence of sanctions. I notice you have not included colleges in the professional faculties of Medicine, Law and Engineering within the orbit of your influence. I know Government colleges are outside your axis. Our so-called popular and national Government discourages even trade-unions of the approved type. They tremble in pious anger and in holy grief if culture either standardizes or organises itself. We must therefore all pursue a common ideal. That ideal must necessarily be the eradication of illiteracy. We must all be actuated by devotion to duty. We must all be guided by the highest and the noblest ideals of patriotism—patriotism which knows no geographical, nor racial, nor religious, nor cultural limits or boundaries. We must always look forward to the only sanction that counts even in an imperative school of thought—the sanction of intelligent, well-informed critical public opinion. Remember please, as Disraeli remembered, that the worst form of slavery lives not in the under-ground penns of Rome, nor in the far-flung virgin plantations in the wilds of America, nor amongst the golden sands and the palmy wine of Africa; but in the nurseries of your own children and of your children's children.

Are your relations with the Government of the day friendly and cordial ? May I give you a few figures so that you may assess the value of your existence and integrity ? From the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1935-36 you will find that colleges in Bengal have been divided into three broad divisions : (1) Government, (2) Aided, and (3) Un-aided. The number of pupils on the rolls of the six major non-denominational Government colleges was 3,203. In the Islamia College there were 358 students. The Sanskrit College had 128 students on its rolls. The average annual cost of educating a pupil in the Presidency College is Rs. 448, in the Islamia College Rs. 317,

in the Hooghly Mohsin College 450, in the Scottish Church College Rs. 168, in the St. Xavier's College Rs. 114. In the Bangabasi College, City College, Ripon College, Asutosh College and Vidyasagar College, which practically receive no subvention from the State, the average annual cost of educating a pupil is Rs. 113, Rs. 106, Rs. 69, Rs. 104 and Rs. 90 respectively. On what basis is this differential treatment made? Comparisons are always odious. I shall not, therefore, devote my attention to a comparison of the respective results of Government, Aided and Unaided colleges at the different University examinations or in the life thereafter. The cost of educating a student in the Medical College, Calcutta, is Rs. 646 a year; out of this amount Rs. 448 comes from public funds. The cost of educating a student in the Carmichael Medical College is Rs. 244 a year; out of this sum Rs. 20 only comes from the public exchequer. The cost of educating a pupil in the David Hare Training College is Rs. 669 a year, in the Dacca Training College Rs. 766 a year, and in the Dow Hill Training College, intended mainly for Anglo-Indians, the cost comes up to Rs. 1,091 a year. Do these costly students render greater services to themselves or to the country, or even to their own community? In recent years, due to the operation of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the so-called Communal Award, considerable additions have been made to the expenditure on Muhammadan education.

The following chart showing the progress of Mahomedans in education as compared with Hindus given by the Director of Public Instruction is interesting. India under the new dispensation, stands divided into two sectors—Muhammadan and Non-Muhammadan.

This year the Bengal Legislature has granted the Supply of 1,53,56,000 rupees on account of 'Education General,' and sum of 11,47,000 rupees on account of Education for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Of this amount roughly about Rs. 40,00,000 will be spent on Higher Education, including Education in the Professional Faculties.

Class of Institutions.	Number of pupils on the rolls on 31st March, 1936.	Number of Hindu and Muhammadan pupils on the rolls on 31st March, 1939.		Percentage of Hindus to Total pupils.	Percentage of Muhammadan to Total pupils.
University Education		Hindus.	Muhammadans.		
Colleges (General)					
Arts Colleges ...	27,055	22,495 (21,379 boys 1,116 girls)	3,855 (boys) 29 (girls)	83·1	14·3
Colleges (Professional)					
Law ,, ...	1,950	1,625	301	83·3	15·4
Medicine ,, ...	1,454	1,301 (boys) 15 (girls)	72 (boys) 0 (girls)	90·2	4·9
Engineering ,, ...	268	212	48	79·1	17·9
Teaching ,, ...	248	103 (boys) 33 (girls)	60 (boys) 1 (girl)	54·8	24·6
Commerce ,, ...	1,169	1,091	57	93·3	4·9
Total for Professional Colleges ...	...	...	...	85·2	11
Total for Colleges ...	...	...	...	83·5	13·8

The number of Post-Graduate students in Arts, Science and Law in 1938-39 is distributed as follows :

		Total No.	No. of Muhammadan students.
Arts	5th-year ...	836	63
	6th-year ...	422	31
Science	5th-year ...	156	3
	6th-year ...	121	3
Law	...	493	31

Rs. 12,40,000 goes to the two Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. Government Colleges for men and women consume roughly about Rs. 16,50,000. The grant to non-Government colleges for men and women stands at the almost static figure of Rs. 7,95,000. Of this amount Rs. 1,50,000 will go as Capital Grant to St. Xavier's College ; Rs. 1,25,000 to Burdwan Raj College ; Rs. 67,500 as Capital Grant to Karatia College, Mymensingh, Rs. 6,830 more to it for the improve-

ment of the hostel accommodation of that college ; Rs. 50,000 goes as Capital Grant to the City College, Calcutta ; Rs. 29,660 to the Brojomohan College, Barisal, for the construction of two Muslim hostels ; the Bagerhat College has managed to secure a Capital Grant of Rs. 10,000. I notice that the Daulatpur Hindu Academy has obtained grant of Rs. 1,847 for the construction of a room for holding Arabic and Persian classes. The Government has, this year made considerable provision for the grant of stipends and scholarships both here and abroad. Such scholarships and stipends will, however, be allotted mainly on the basis that 60 per cent. will go to the Muhammadan community, 20 per cent. to the members of what have been described as " Scheduled Castes " by the Government of India Act, 1935, and 20 per cent. " to others." These " others " will include the 83·5 per cent. of the Hindu students reading in our affiliated institutions. These special grants have been attempted to be justified on the grounds of justice, equity and good conscience. The future, however, is bleak and black for the vast bulk of the professoriate, specially in aided and un-aided colleges in Bengal. We may, therefore, have to appeal in a strident voice to the people of Bengal for liberal and generous contributions to the cause of collegiate education in this province. Such appeals may be chilled by the creation of a Secondary Board of Education for Bengal. The story of the reform of Secondary Education in Bengal ever since the year 1912 has indeed been a sordid story. It has been told so often that I do not desire to give a historical survey, nor do I propose to analyse or speculate on the motives of the framers of numerous bills for the so-called reform of Secondary Education. In one word, the Bureaucracy was frightened at the spread of Secondary Education. They desire to sacrifice 750 High Schools in Bengal, not in receipt of a single penny from the coffers of the State, on the altar of efficiency. The present Government of Bengal desire to control Secondary Education not

simply for the advancement of the educational facilities of an educationally backward community installed in power but for the purpose of consolidating what they regard as the cultural integrity of the predominant community. The establishment of the Board of Secondary Education in Bengal under such auspices will vitally affect not only the goal of Secondary Education, not only the ideal of Culture in this province, but the Private Colleges in Bengal who eke out a miserable existence from out of the fee-income of their students. How can, under these circumstances, a member of the professoriate expect a respectable living wage ? How can he under these circumstances discharge the primary function of improving the mind and morals, the health and habits of the students under his charge ? Public opinion in Bengal may, in the near future, have to decide whether or not it will follow the Canadian model of two systems of education based upon two different races, two different languages, two different faiths. It may have to decide whether education should be divorced wholly and absolutely from State control or whether the advanced educational community should altogether refuse subvention from the State, if that community is attempted to be confined, circumcsribed and pilloried.

Brother delegates and friends, I have taxed your patience long. I do not think I have made any solid contribution either to your stock of knowledge or to the unveiling of the dire destiny which awaits us, or to the solution of the urgent problems of bread and butter amongst you, or to the advancement of the ideal which you must hold so dear, or to the betterment of the physical, mental or moral conditions of the vast mass of student population under your affectionate control. My only justification is that I have felt deeply for you and the student community of Bengal and that like you I have dreamt dreams of the future greatness of our beloved motherland. The question before us to-day is, shall we live or shall we die ? Shall we be able to

adjust our ideas about culture and humanity to the ever-changing needs of society, or shall we remain stagnant, immobile, untouched by the stormy tendencies of the age ? The question before us is: Will Bengal, our beloved motherland, rise through our efforts to the height that centuries of sacrifice, struggle, devotion, have accorded to her, or shall she become the Niobe of Nations—childless and throneless in her voiceless woe ? Shall our voices become drowned in the roar of self-interest, of separatism of exclusive rigidity and of hide-bound conservatism, or shall our voices trail away like Narcissus of old, or shall our voices gather strain and strength and volume and will roar like the roar of the ocean ? Will time ever write wrinkles on the azure brows of the little ones under our charge, or will they in peace, in solemnity, in gaiety flutter like angels before the temple of our dear motherland ? Give weight, give strength to my feeble voice and let us exclaim: We shall ive—we shall be free—we shall make our country great !

বন্দে মাতরম্ !